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STUDIES IN ADOLESCENT BOYHOOD

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PREFACE

Within the last few years a group of talented and thoroughly equipped physiologists and psychologists have been concentrating their attention on the problems of adolescence. The resulting books, pamphlets and articles are becoming respectable both in quantity and quality. Such men as G. Stanley Hall, Coe, Starbuck, Gulick and others have put the student world under lasting obligation. While they have not covered the whole field, the next step would seem to be the application of what has been discovered and formulated to practical education and philanthropy.

The studies have been made with two objects in view:—

1. To make a modest contribution to the subject itself, and
2. To apply some of the well established principles of adolescent psychology to the work of the Young Men's Christian Association, and especially to that of the boys' department.

As was necessary, these studies have been made after a careful study of Dr. Hall's "Adolescence,"

PREFACE

and credit has been given for direct quotations, but the writer must acknowledge his indebtedness for far more than can be included within quotation marks to the master student in this field.

The characterization of the phenomena of adolescence follows Dr. Hall closely, though not directly quoted. It is in fact a modified paraphrase. As will be seen, material has been chosen and shaped with a view to its special application to the boys' work of the Young Men's Christian Association, and an attempt has been made to avoid needlessly cumbersome and technical phraseology.

H. M. B.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ADOLESCENT BOYHOOD

THE PROBLEM

The twentieth century has learned to control the forces of the natural world to a marvelous degree. It remains to develop a corresponding control of the forces of human nature. There is danger that man be weakened by the very strength of the mechanism which he has invented. The industrial and commercial intensity of our time creates an atmosphere unfavorable to the normal life of youth. The insane appetite for wealth becomes a car of Juggernaut under whose wheels the youth of our land are crushed. In many ways civilization fails to be civilizing. Education has not yet restored the equilibrium of nature disturbed by the artificialities of civilization.

As Dr. Hall suggests, the rapid increase of urban life brings special dangers to youth. There are the dangers springing from "prematurity, excessive nerve stimulation, the lack of the develop-

ment of the great muscles and vital functions, and the instability of regulative tradition and environment.”

Special emphasis should be laid on the fact of the lessening control of the home and the church. The chaotic condition of religious thought is a “menace to youth.” Religion is the great, natural conservative force. It is the fly wheel of the moral mechanism. It has been wise to separate religion from the state. It is fatal to separate religion from life.

American educational methods are still in an unformed and uncertain condition which is very unfortunate for American youth. “The new wine is still in old bottles.”

THE METHOD OF STUDY

It is an axiom of the new psychology that mind must be studied by the observational method rather than by the introspective and metaphysical. It is only thus that we can have a scientific psychology. The only way to develop a useful psychology of boyhood is to observe how the boy's mind works, not to evolve it like a spider's web from one's inner consciousness. To have been a boy and to retain a vivid memory of the workings

of the boy mind is essential for the worker in this field, but it must be remembered that it is very easy to forget. "By looking inward, we see, for the most part, only the top branches of the buried tree of mind" (Hall). Feelings are the important thing in adolescence, and feelings are remembered with difficulty. It is quite essential, then, that all material gathered from reminiscence and introspection should be corrected by observation.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

The first thing to be noted is that we know nothing of mind apart from body. As Dr. Hall puts it, "We can truly know soul only through body, and conversely we can only know body through soul." This does not mean that the soul cannot exist without the body or that the soul is a function of the body, but that the body is the only medium of soul expression which we know, and thus physiology and psychology cannot be divorced. The study of the mind of the boy must go hand in hand with the study of his body.

Another important fact which must be kept constantly in mind is this: The soul is not a finished product. "Its essence is its process of becoming" (Hall). We are told that the material

of the body changes once in seven years. The material of the mind changes with far greater rapidity. From one point of view the self seems to be one of the most transient of things, always becoming and always ceasing to be. At no time of life is this rapid transit of self more marked than during adolescence. Then, the individual is emerging from the complex elements of heredity.

It must also be borne in mind that we must study the "whence as well as the whither" of the human soul if we are to understand its real nature. The two historic theories of the origin of the soul are Creationism and Traducianism. According to the first, a new soul is created for each new body and injected at some uncertain time. According to the second, the soul is transmitted from the parents. Physical heredity is the analogue of psychical heredity. For our purposes it is not necessary to discuss these theories in detail, but it is well to note that an explanation may be given which harmonizes the two theories, in a measure. The stream of life has its continued source in God. "Our heredity is from God," but it is transmitted through fatherhood and motherhood. This explains both the human and the divine elements in heredity, which are so often perplexing. As to

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the process we may speculate endlessly, but so much is clear.

1. We may count on the divine element, the "image of God," in every boy. He is a son of God as well as the son of his father and mother, and it is our duty and privilege to bring out and develop the divine heredity.

2. The human heredity must be carefully studied, in order that we may understand what are the natural forces and tendencies with which we have to deal.

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A detailed study of the physiology of adolescence does not belong to a discussion of this kind, though we must note some of its more general phenomena. A rapid increase in height and weight, and a corresponding development of the nervous and vascular system, with the maturing of the organs of sex are the most obvious. Something should be said also of the marked changes in some of the fundamental sensations. Dr. Hall treats this with great fullness and the reader is referred to his book for a fuller discussion.

Touch. The sensitiveness of the skin is greatly increased during this period. The activity of the

nerves of touch and surface sensation tend to become abnormal. Sometimes this is shown by extreme sensitiveness to heat and cold. There is great danger of the concentration of this nerve sensitiveness in the sexual organs. A vigorous outdoor life with plenty of stimulus to the other parts of the body is the best physical safeguard. The student and the dreamer leading sedentary lives are subject to the greatest temptations.

Taste. The rapidity of growth demands a careful diet, both in quantity and quality. The appetite is likely to be fickle, vibrating from excess to too little. Often there is a great desire for spices and stimulants. The foundation of many of the ailments of later life is often laid in unwholesome dietetic habits, formed in youth. The bad eating habits of students destroy countless lives or impair their usefulness. The "bolting" habit often seems instinctive at this period, a habit which may hark back to the time when men, like dogs, did not dare linger over their food lest it be stolen from them.

Smell and Hearing. The sense of smell is unquestionably closely related to sex attraction and repulsion. Hearing is pre-eminently the gate of feeling as seeing is the gate of knowledge. Ado-

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lescence is the golden time for the training of the ear; is the nascent period for the development of the musical faculty. The importance of musical training as a part of general education at this period is beginning to be more clearly perceived. Harmony of sound may help to harmonize the character. Mr. Tomlins of Chicago tells of a tough boy who had been the despair of one of the settlements, who was finally reached by his love of music and became a model in both studies and deportment. It is scarcely necessary to speak of the large part which music has played in evangelism and the still larger part which it might play in work for boys.

Even the yelling of boys is significant. It marks the development of new sensitiveness to sound. Their fondness for explosions and discords is a part of the passion for sensation in allopathic doses. Dr. Hall says, "For the average youth, there is probably no such agent of educating the heart to the love of God, home, nature, and country, and of cadencing the whole emotional nature; and hence there is no aspect of our educational life more sad than the neglect or perversion of musical training from this, its supreme end."

The scientific use of music in boys' work is yet to be developed. It is safe to say that it will have a large part in the training of the boys' secretary of the future. (The place of vocal culture in education will be discussed in the chapter on "The *Aesthetic Side of Adolescence.*")

Sight. It is probable that the power of sight is increased during adolescence, though it is not so easy to demonstrate it. A sense of color value certainly is in evidence. It is the best time to develop the habit of appreciative observation, which so few have fully developed, but which adds so much to the joy of living. A soul is sadly shut in that cannot read the word of God as written in the great Book of Nature. (For a fuller treatment see chapter V.)

Emotionalism. The rapid increase in the intensity and complexity of sensation is the physiological explanation of the emotionalism of adolescence. Emotional excitement is normal at this period, though it may be concealed under an assumed nonchalance and indifference. This surplus of feeling, this high pressure of emotion, demands and will find an outlet. Much of the noise and boisterous enthusiasm of youth which is so trying to the old or neurotic, is nature's safety valve.

The passionate devotion to sports in our schools and colleges has its evils, but it must not be forgotten that it furnishes an outlet for the explosive force which, checked in that direction, would often lead to vice.

Heredity. Adolescence is also the period when the workings of hereditary influence become most marked. "A thousand voices of the past make themselves heard." Unsuspected likenesses in body, mind and character, to parents and grandparents, emerge. The stamp of race and family is put upon form and face. It is preeminently the time for the elimination and modification of unfortunate heredity and the higher development of the fortunate.

Instinct. Now also the educative forces of nature are most apparent and potent. The growing reserve of the boy with parents and teachers is nature's warning, "Hands off!" It is now that the well-intentioned but ignorant intruder may do incalculable harm. Dr. Hall reminds us that the reserve of adolescence is like the shell of the egg, a protection against would-be tamperers with incubation.

Instability. Adolescence is also a time of unstable equilibrium. The last period of childhood is

one of comparative stability, corresponding perhaps to some ancient and long continued chapter of civilization. When childhood passes, this comparative stability is broken up in order that life may develop along new and higher lines. "The child is driven from his paradise of Eden and must enter upon a rough and arduous ascent; must conquer the higher kingdom of man for himself" (Hall).

This radical difference between childhood and adolescence makes it unwise to combine boys of twelve and under with those over that age in class or organization. There seems to be a greater gap between the boy of ten and the boy of fifteen than between the latter and the adult. No apparent economy of energy and space will justify the attempt to handle children and adolescents together.

New Capacities. "Early adolescence is the infancy of the higher nature" (Hall). The soul becomes sensitive in a new way to the appeal of truth and beauty and righteousness. There is a new capacity not merely for love of woman, but for love of one's fellows and love of God. The æsthetic nature, the social nature and the religious nature are ready to bloom and blossom. It is the

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nascent period of the arts, the graces and the virtues of life.

But as Dr. Hall reminds us, adolescence has its "reactions and negations, as well as its advances and potentialities."

Reactions and Negations. 1. The feverish activity of adolescence is broken by singular, and to adults aggravating, periods of sluggishness and sloth. Explosion is followed by collapse; over-activity by absolute inactivity. It is very interesting to notice that this condition corresponds very closely to the irregularities of savage life. Dr. Hall suggests that there are traces of periodicity in the life of adolescent boys as well as girls, as if nature concentrated her attention by turns on structure and function, on the development of the organ and its use.

2. Periods of abnormal melancholy often follow those of extreme hilarity. Exuberant delight in living gives way to a blasé indifference to life. The pendulum swings low as well as high. According to Lancaster, "The curve of despondency begins at eleven, rises steadily and rapidly till fifteen, culminates at seventeen and falls steadily till twenty-three."

The serious side of life begins to cloud the

horizon of youth. The work and struggle of life appear as Titans; the unknown and untried selves as pygmies. Self-distrust follows unreasoning conceit.

3. While the altruistic impulses germinate most rapidly during adolescence, self-consciousness is so acute and often so assertive as to hide it. We are often puzzled at the overweening and groundless conceit of youth. It makes them both overbearing and oversensitive. The wisdom of the past counts for nothing. Dignities and dignitaries are scoffed at. But at the same time there is an extreme sensitiveness to slight and ridicule.

The reason for this "topping out" of conceit may be found in the rapid growth of body and mind in new powers. In the first experience of them they seem limitless, and when self-questionings arise they are concealed by bravado.

4. The vibration between generosity and greed, between goodness and badness, is another perplexing phenomenon of adolescence. The youth is responsive alternately to the best and the worst impulses. A kind of Jekyll and Hyde duality is very common, even though fond parents may

shut their eyes to it. The problem of the parent and teacher and worker for boys is to foster and strengthen the better self, recognizing, however, that some lessons seem to be learned only through the lower. The danger does not lie in the existence of the lower but in its becoming fixed and dominant.

5. The social nature is subject to the same fluctuations as the moral nature. Boys not merely hunt in packs and hunger for the society of the gang, but they have times of shunning all companionship, crawling off by themselves to feast on the "sweets of solitude."

It is important for the adult to remember, difficult as it may be, that these fluctuations are natural and to be expected. Fortunately there is a law of moral gravitation which tends to reduce the excess of vibration to equilibrium. Our most important duty is to maintain, as far as possible, normal conditions.

SUMMARY

1. New faculties are born; new powers of perception develop; new feelings assert their power.
2. Old instincts are modified, some partially

lapsing, others being reinforced. "The ego finds a new center."

3. Sex love appears, with all its disturbing as well as inspiring impulses.

4. Religious motives have a new and stronger appeal.

5. The senses respond in a new way to the thousand impressions of nature.

6. The moral sense becomes more acute. The sense of social obligation—the social conscience—develops.

7. Hereditary influences show themselves more markedly.

8. The imagination takes new wings and is ready for higher and longer flights. New and more lofty ideals call the youth. Hero worship becomes a passion.

9. The passions, both good and evil, are intensified and the possibilities for both good and ill are greatly increased.

10. Change is the law of adolescence. There is no stopping. There is always movement up or down.

The great peril of the adolescent period lies in the fact that the capacity for self-control does not keep pace with the growing intensity of impulse.

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Perhaps the abnormal conditions of modern civilization are responsible for this in some measure. The development and reinforcement of all the regulative faculties and forces should be the chief aim of parent, teacher and leader.

CHAPTER II

THE INTELLECTUAL SIDE OF ADOLESCENT BOYHOOD

Though more attention has been paid to this than to other phases of our subject, it is still true that even professional teachers are often ignorant of the fundamental difference between the workings of the mind of the boy of from eight to twelve and that of the adolescent. There are even some workers in the boys' department of the Young Men's Christian Association who are led to ignore it for reasons of economy of time or space. But it is costly economy.

The pre-adolescent period—from eight to twelve or thirteen—is the maturity of childhood, both physically and mentally. Dr. Hall gives an admirable description of this period and its educational possibilities in "Adolescence," Vol. II., p. 432: "As this period draws to a close and the teens begin, the average normal child will not be bookish, but will read and write well; know a few dozen books, play several dozen games, be well started

in one or more ancient languages—if these are to be studied at all; should know something of several industries, and should know how to make the things in which he is interested, belong to a few teams and societies, know much about nature in his environment, be able to sing and draw, should have memorized much more than he does now, and be acquainted, in story form at least, with the outlines of many of the best works of literature and the most famous epochs and persons in history."

Though the idea is admirable, it is to be feared that few boys enter their teens with such an equipment. But I have quoted these words of Dr. Hall, not so much to emphasize the ideal which they contain, as to suggest the mental aptitudes and educational methods of that period. At that stage memory must play a large part in education. Authority must be appealed to more than reason, and a rather severe drill given in the elements of knowledge. Some writers make much of the fact that this stage seems to correspond to a similar stage in civilization, when arts and sciences and institutions were comparatively well developed, but where the individual was subject in all the details of life to outside authority.

But the adolescent boy has entered another kingdom. Gradually rule by authority must give way to rule by reason. Free and spontaneous effort must be encouraged in the place of formal drills and set tasks. The teacher can no longer "coerce, but must lead and inspire" (Hall). Hitherto the reins have been largely in the hands of the parent and teacher; now they must be handed over more and more to the boy himself. For a short time we may sit on the box as advisers, but not for long. It is a common experience of teachers to find that pupils who have been good students from eight to twelve relapse to mediocrity or even inferiority during the teens. There are several possible reasons for this. In the first place the great physical and psychic changes of this period divert the attention from purely mental processes, and probably also blood and neural energy from the brain. In the second place the teachers often fail to adjust their educational demands and methods to the new conditions.

Our clumsy examination schemes seem to break down just here. We interfere with growth by constantly digging up the plant to see whether it is growing. As Dr. Hall says, "Never is the ability to appreciate so far in advance of the power

to express, and never does understanding so outstrip ability to explain." "Over-accuracy is atrophy." "Both mental and moral acquisition sink too deep to be reproduced by examination without injury to both intellect and will."

And yet adolescence is the time for examinations which demand the most detailed knowledge. Here the college and technical school react viciously on the whole public school system. The teacher must continue the drill-master methods in order to prepare *some* for college and *all* suffer alike. It is beyond question that the adolescent should deal with knowledge more *en masse* than the child—should get general impressions and fundamental principles, but a study of high school and college entrance examinations shows a vicious disregard of this principle. Learned professors of history prepare questions, not to discover whether the pupil has a knowledge of the great fundamental movements and characters in history, but whether he has forgotten a detail that even a highly educated man could forget with entire self-respect. To give a concrete example: a recent test in Greek history in a prominent high school asked for the details of the Amphictyonic league and one of the lesser campaigns of the Peloponnesian war. A

bright pupil was able to answer these questions, but failed utterly when asked to tell briefly the story of the Greek people and what they had contributed to civilization.

A large number of examinations are gotten up with the evident notion that the knowledge of the lesser always involves a knowledge of the greater, and that the ideal test is one which shows what the student does *not* know rather than what he *does* know. It is discouraging to find that many teachers who are college and university graduates are guilty of this "offense against the young." One such teacher spent a whole term with a high school class in an analytical study of the Peloponnesian war. This would do very well in a specialist's course in a university, but in a high school it was the very pettifoggery of pedagogy.

Since the adolescent mind has an enlarged capacity and taste for massed knowledge, and a new receptiveness to what Dr. Hall calls "impressionist representations of life," a new taste for self-chosen mental activity, and a thirst to know the causes and the reasons of things, and the meaning of life, it is plain that both the method and the matter of teaching must be carefully adapted. While the disciplinary study of childhood must be

continued in a measure, there must be branches of study which are peculiarly adapted to the adolescent mind.

Knowledge of one's own language and literature should certainly be first among these. The importance of this knowledge, though apparently forgotten by a disgraceful number of our educational institutions, certainly does not need elaborate defense. Language is the vehicle of thought, and the necessary channel for both impression and expression. To be able to use it forcibly and to receive from it the best inheritance of the race is essential for a well-educated man, though colleges and universities give diplomas to thousands of men each year who can neither speak, read nor write English in a respectable manner.

But the point which I wish to emphasize is this: adolescence is the nascent period for the acquisition of language. Then the ear is the most acute to differences of tone; the organs of speech are acquiring a new capacity for expression; the imagination quickens the power of interpretation; a new interest in life makes the mind more receptive to the literary treasures of the race. It is a serious and perhaps irreparable blunder, when a study of dead and even living foreign languages

leaves no adequate time for the proper study of one's own.

✓ The first problem is to furnish opportunity and incentive for the reading of good English and in considerable quantities. I do not mean by this an allopathic dose of Irving, Addison, Lamb, and the like—good as they are for homeopathic treatment—but a general diet of books abounding in ideals, information, adventure, incident, told in strong, accurate and appropriate language.

The importance of hearing good English read at this stage of education has not been fully appreciated. This not merely familiarizes the mind with the content of good literature but the sound of it, and with correct pronunciation and emphasis. The reading of the overwhelming majority of schoolboys is so bad as to raise the fear that the capacity for good reading will become a lost art.

✓ The educational work of the Young Men's Christian Association has been most useful in supplementing the limitations and omissions of the public schools. A reading, rhetorical and dramatic club can be made a very useful and attractive feature of our educational work, under proper supervision. We have not yet fully realized the opportunity of reaching the higher nature through the

printed page. The reserve of adolescence will often prevent any response to a direct appeal, but not to the appeal of a book. One of the prime qualifications for the highest type of boys' work should be a knowledge of tonic, interesting and uplifting books, written in good English. The boys' work director should be able to prescribe reading as the physical director prescribes exercise.

Another study which is peculiarly adapted to the mind of the adolescent is natural science, taught in a large and direct way. During adolescence the mind becomes interested in the why and wherefore of things and the meaning of the world in which we live. The mystery of the origin and development of life has a new fascination. All the motor forces of nature have a new appeal to the boy conscious of the development of new powers within himself. The rapid development of science work in our public schools and the growing number of books on nature study are encouraging symptoms that we are making progress, but, alas, we have not arrived, and in many cases scarcely started. The demand for teachers has brought into the field of science teaching two different and equally discouraging types of pedagogic blunderers—the underequipped and

the overequipped—those who know too little and those who know too much, and the adolescent has suffered almost equally from them both. The poorly trained teacher can neither interest nor instruct, and the boy is quick to detect and despise incompetence. On the other hand the teacher who has been very highly trained is in danger of being too much interested in the details and minutiae of science and of giving instruction suitable for the college or university, but not for the public school. As a result it is too easy to find high school pupils who know something of the laboratory side of biology, but who have no real sympathetic interest in or knowledge of plants and animals. Much of this is due not to the fault of the teacher, but to a school curriculum which gives no opportunity for the study of nature under natural conditions in the woods and fields.

Here again is an opportunity for valuable work by the boys' department of the Young Men's Christian Association. Camping and tramping expeditions are becoming more and more popular, though the breaking loose of the hoodlum at such times is always a source of anxiety. The boys need more object in their outings. Under a competent leader

the enthusiasm of the old hunting instinct may be enlisted in a bloodless chase for flowers, trees, birds and animals. The camera, magnifying glass and botany can take the place of the gun. I remember with pleasure a most exciting hunt for the tracks of woodland creatures in new-fallen snow. The boy who had found a new trail and identified it was as proud as a young Indian with a scalp.

I am confident that knowledge of at least one department of natural science, and sympathetic interest in all, will be a part of the equipment of the well-trained worker for boys. Even in our large cities excursions to God's out-of-doors are possible and perhaps even more valuable because of the shut-in life of the city boy.

History also should be one of the most interesting and educative studies of the adolescent period. Then there dawns upon the boy a new social sense, a new feeling of the significance of human life and history. He begins to feel that he belongs not merely to his family and gang and school, but to the world. The instinct of hero worship may lead him far afield. He has an insatiable thirst for knowledge about the men of all ages who have been able to achieve great things.

But, sad to relate, history has been too often and too long a dreaded and dry-as-dust subject, involving the painful memorizing and forgetting of arid lists of dates and names.

Under the circumstances it is not strange that many boys acquire a permanent distaste for the study of history. But a better time is coming, notwithstanding such incidents as were mentioned in the earlier part of this paper. As an examination of the text-books and of public school pupils themselves will show, the teaching of history has been revolutionized. There still remains, however, much to be done in applying what we know of adolescent psychology to the teaching of history. Even now most text-books lay an abnormal emphasis on the military and political side of history. There is a lack, also, of properly chosen and properly told "Hero Tales." As a matter of theory, we know that the easiest way to master history is through the study of the lives of great men and women; but it is hard in practice to find biographies that are accurate, interesting and interpretive, and not too long, though our library shelves groan under the weight of historical biographies. Some one who will prepare or edit fifty biographies of the great men and women of his-

tory in a way to appeal to the boy in his teens will make a most valuable contribution to education.

With the development of our public libraries, Association libraries are not much in evidence, but it would be a splendid thing if every boys' department were equipped with a special library of tonic books, especially the lives of those "great men" whose lives "remind us we can make our lives sublime."

To be able to tell such stories about a camp fire in summer, or an open fire in winter, is an accomplishment not to be despised by one who desires to master all the arts of winning boys.

Language had its first appeal not to the eye, but to the ear, and even in these days of countless books and papers, most people respond more readily to the spoken than to the written word. This is preeminently true of the adolescent. Dr. Hall ("Adolescence," Vol. II., p. 461) makes an appeal "for more oral and objective work, for stories, narratives, and even vivid readings, as is now statedly done in more than a dozen of the public libraries of the country, not so often by teachers as by librarians, all to the end that the ear, the chief receptacle of language, be main-

tained in its dominance." This plea may well be extended to the Young Men's Christian Association, which in its educational work has sometimes copied the least desirable features of public school method. I have in mind a Bible class of high school boys who spent a year with paste pot and scissors, constructing a harmony of the life of Christ. The scheme seemed promising, but the results were discouraging. The boys seemed to miss entirely the vital, speaking personality of Jesus in mechanically constructing a kind of crazy patchwork.

It is characteristic of the mental development of the adolescent boy that new interests emerge with great suddenness, and the transition from one interest to another is extremely rapid. This is apt to be very disconcerting to the parent or teacher or worker who has the adult sense of the importance of stability and fixedness, forgetting that adolescence is the normal time "for tasting and sampling" a wide variety of subjects.

Narrowness of interests is the great obstacle to both education and civilization. No real progress can be made until the mental horizon has been widened. The richness of life depends largely on the number and quality of interests. I remember

hearing two fathers talking about the future of their sons. "Why do you send your son to college, when he might be getting his feet in the business world?" said one. "Because," said the other, "if he gets an education, he can get more out of life on a thousand a year than he could on ten thousand a year without it." That is, life is enriched by *interests* rather than by *interest* or *income*. Adolescence is the time of opportunity for the development of wide and varied interests, and it is a misfortune when either the necessity of earning a living or supposed exigencies of academic discipline make it impossible.

There are clearly two objects to be kept in mind in the education of boys in their teens—an economic and a cultural. The boy must be trained for effective working and prepared for large living. With the rapid development of industrial, technical and commercial schools, and the increasing dominance of the money motive, we are in great danger of neglecting the cultural, that is to say the vital, side of education, and developing simply skillful technicians. This does not mean that we should have less technical education, but that the cultural idea should be kept constantly in view. It is possible to give it at the forge and

lathe and bench as well as in the classical recitation room, if the teacher remembers that while one half of education is to develop skill in arts and crafts and industries, the other half is to develop wise and varied interests and capacities.

The word capacity suggests a most important discovery of modern psychology and physiology which is looked upon as a pedagogic maxim so obviously axiomatic that one has to apologize for speaking of it, and yet it is often forgotten in educational practice. If certain capacities, both of the body and mind, are not aroused and given some development during adolescence, they tend to atrophy. If, however, they have taken some root, they may be cultivated readily in adult life. To illustrate: a man of forty who is fond of music wishes to learn to play the piano. If, as a boy, he took sufficient lessons to develop the fundamental coordinations of nerve and muscle, he can do so. But if he did not root the capacity in the teens, to grow it in the forties is an impossibility. This principle has the very widest application in both the world of mind and the world of morals, and does not need further illustration, but it does need new and repeated emphasis. Our educational work must be not merely intensive, but extensive.

While the wandering honeybee habit of mind must not be allowed to break up all continuity of effort and the *régime* of training which is recognized to be necessary, we must keep in mind the necessity of allowing and cultivating wide and varied interests to such an extent that they may be developed in later life.

This is a plea, then, for a wisely diversified intellectual diet, especially in our high schools, which are the finishing schools for the majority of boys. It is high time that the long enslavement of these schools to college and technical schools should cease. To make them merely drill halls for a class is to rob the people as a whole. The old assumption that preparation for college and for life were the same is as ridiculous as the assumption that science and dogmatic theology are one. (See Hall, "Adolescence," Vol. II., p. 521.)

Perhaps the application of this to the work of the Young Men's Christian Association scarcely needs pointing out. We are doing a larger and larger amount of supplementary education to help boys and young men increase their industrial and commercial capacity, but we should not forget the other half of education. Young fellows who

have been handicapped educationally need not merely to be enriched in their powers, but in their minds and hearts; they need not merely to have new doors of business opportunity opened to them, but new doors into the world of ideas and ideals. Much has been done, much remains to be done.

Rapid oscillation between a childish and adult point of view, with a persistent and insistent desire to be treated as an adult in everything, except in doing an adult's work, is another striking but natural characteristic of the mind of the boy. As a man's feelings and a man's powers begin to make themselves felt, he longs to appear like a man and to be treated as such. In his efforts to secure this, he frequently becomes more "kid-dish" than ever, and most trying to parents, teachers and friends. He talks in a loud and strident voice, rolls new slang and even swear words "like a sweet morsel under his tongue"; stamps about with swaggering gait and heavy feet, makes the most astonishing statements with more than papal authority, assumes the manners of a dictator or ward boss, while his ideas and mental processes have all the crudity and naïveté of childhood. It is a most trying and exasperat-

ing time to adults whose affection is not both sympathetic and prophetic.

Perhaps the first thing to be remembered concerning this stage in the development of the man child is that its raucous and bumptious phases need not be taken too seriously if they are kept moving. The danger lies in arrested development. It is not a serious matter for a boy to be a blatant calf if he does not remain so.

The assertive habit, also, which so often seems to defy all decency and proper respect for others, comes from experimenting in the art of developing and defending an independent idea or proposition. Those of us who admire independent thought in adults must not deny the young some experience in stating their own opinions. The chicken rooster must squawk on the coop in order that the old chanticleer may be trained for top-roost performances in later life.

The hardest problem in practical dealing with boys at this age is to quietly curb and steady while maintaining a somewhat philosophic habit of mind, as well as a sympathetic habit of heart, and to reverence the becoming manhood so much that we can treat the boy with something of the mingled respect and good-fellowship which he

hungers for. It was the possession of this capacity which made Arnold of Rugby not merely the idol of his pupils, but the greatest maker of men in England. Every teacher and worker for boys should study his life and profit by his example and experience.

Another fact must be kept in mind in dealing with boys at this age. The receptive are far ahead of the creative and expressive powers. This is peculiarly true of the earlier part of adolescence. There must be great patience exercised with apparent incapacity to formulate and express, and also with seeming indifference. As time goes on, the desire for expression will grow, and should be encouraged, but with wisdom and tact. In education, examinations and tests of a formal kind should be reduced to a minimum, and spontaneous expressions encouraged. In religion even greater care should be exercised. The poll-parrot pietism of many of our young people's societies shows the consequence of encouraging premature and formal expression. Of course the value of expression both in education and religion will not be overlooked. It is essential to the growth of the receptive power. But expression must be spontaneous and natural, not forced and formal.

The critical faculty develops with great rapidity during adolescence. Not merely does the boy assert his own ideas with great freedom, but he challenges those of others. To some anxious adults he seems to have no respect for God or man. He sets at naught the wisdom of the elders with nonchalant audacity. He is equally ready to take a shot with his critical popgun at time-honored creeds or well-established social customs. He becomes a ruthless iconoclast, and seems to his worried parents and anxious friends like a young bull in the china shop of sacred family traditions. Father and mother shake their heads, and say, "He surely did not get this from us." Father perhaps tells how "when he was a boy, boys knew their place, kept still until they were spoken to," etc. Doubtless he does not mean to be untruthful, but the probability is that he is forgetful and gives himself the benefit of the doubt.

But unpleasant as many of these manifestations of the critical spirit are, it is still a normal impulse and to be recognized as such, and not to be taken too seriously. The capacity "to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good" can only be developed by exercise. Like a geologist,

the boy must test all material with his little hammer, and learn the sound of things; like a banker, he must clink all the coins of life that come to his counter, thus gradually learning to discriminate the true from the false.

Instead of discouraging the use of the critical faculty, the boy should be taught constantly to exercise it. Even we adults would do well to remember that nothing is too high or too holy or too universally accepted to be proved in the reverent spirit. There cannot be too much of the critical spirit if it is balanced by absolute reverence for truth. Only through this process can a boy arrive at unshakable convictions and creeds which will stand the storm and stress of life. I do not mean to disparage for a moment a proper respect for time-honored customs, traditions and creeds, but they must be respected for the truth which they contain and not simply for their age and common acceptance. As the growing boy learns to reverence more and more deeply the sacredness of verity and reality, he will exercise his critical faculty with more and more caution and judgment and respect for the rights and opinions of others, and with a growing power to discriminate between the true and the false, the

worthless and the worth-while. He will become a man who does not need a guardian always at his elbow to decide for him. He will not be drawn hither and thither by every wave of doctrine. To check the normal growth of the critical faculty is to cripple the boy for life, and to subject him to the danger of being victimized by both moral and intellectual shams. History gives us plentiful illustrations of what happens when authority becomes papal in religion and imperial in politics, and the critical faculty is crushed. We have no excuse for making such a blunder in either secular or religious education.

SUMMARY

1. Pre-adolescence is the time for the exercise of the memory and for a thorough drill in the elements of knowledge under a steady pressure of authority.
2. With the adolescent, rule by authority must give place to control by reason. Spontaneous activity must be encouraged.
3. During adolescence "ability to appreciate is far in advance of the power to express" (Hall).
4. The adolescent mind has an enlarged capacity for massed knowledge and general views.

5. The study of one's own language and literature, the study of history and natural science, is peculiarly adapted to the adolescent mind.

6. During adolescence new interests emerge with great suddenness and the transition from one interest to another is extremely rapid.

7. Two objects must be kept clearly in view in the education of boys in their teens—the economic and the cultural. The boy must be trained for large living as well as effective working.

8. The adolescent must have a wisely diversified intellectual diet.

9. Rapid oscillation between a childish and adult point of view with a persistent and insistent desire to be treated as an adult is a striking but natural characteristic of the mind of the boy.

10. The bumptiousness and self-assertiveness of the adolescent boy need not be taken too seriously if the condition is not allowed to crystallize.

11. The critical faculty, which develops with great rapidity at this time, must be so trained that it will become a capacity for wise discrimination. To check the normal growth of the critical faculty is to cripple the boy for life.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL SIDE OF ADOLESCENT BOYHOOD

The social impulse is so closely related to the religious that it is as difficult to separate them in thought as it is in life. They not merely develop at the same time, but react on each other in a hundred different ways. It may even be that the religious life is the highest expression of the social life and that the perfect development of the social life will lead inevitably to the religious life. As one cannot truly love God who does not love his brother, it would seem that perfect love of one's brother should lead to the love of God.

Therefore the religious worker cannot afford to overlook the problem of socializing the adolescent boy; that is, aiding in the development of his social nature and helping him to fit harmoniously and helpfully into his social environment.

When we say that adolescence is the nascent period of the social life, we do not mean that

children are not social, for they are; but we mean that the social life then finds a new center, assumes new forms, and exercises a new influence.

Two fundamental and related instincts exercise a controlling influence over the social life—the sex instinct and the gang instinct. The increasing influence of these two impulses advertises itself in various ways—by increased shyness, by showing off, by affectation, by alternate hunger for solitude and the company of others. It is the age at which the other sex becomes newly interesting, though sometimes avoided as well as sought. It is the time for the forming of clubs and secret societies and for close comradeships. Most careful and painstaking studies of the social phenomena of adolescence have been made by Hall, Gulick, Forbush and Scott. The curve of the development of the "gang instinct" and the "chum instinct" have been carefully plotted. All the possible and impossible forms of boy organization have been analyzed and dissected. The symptoms of pubescence have been described literally to a hair. We have learned dissertations on blushing, pimples, pilosity, etc., etc. The returns for these elaborate and laborious investigations have not been as great as was hoped, though they have

been valuable and have had important influence on work for boys. But a word of warning is needed against the mistake of taking the statistics and charts and curves of adolescent phenomena too seriously or interpreting them too mechanically. There is a certain fascination about their construction and interpretation which is apt to blind one to their limitations.

In the first place they do not suggest the wide allowance which must be made for differences in individuals. There is not merely a considerable difference in the beginning of adolescence and the rapidity of its development, but in the order and duration of its various phases. After an intimate and continued study of four adolescent boys, it is borne in on me that at no time of life are personal differences so great, and the danger of treating them *en masse* so serious. While the social instinct is strong, individuality of feeling and experience is equally strong. Many of our students of the social side of adolescence seem to lose sight of this fact, which the practical worker for boys cannot for a moment overlook.

It is also by no means clear just what the relation between the group impulse and the religious impulse is. There are certain similarities between

their curves, and it is possible that a large number of similar curves could be made. A curve representing almost any vital function or great capacity would show a marked rise during adolescence. We cannot safely assume that because the years between fifteen and seventeen mark the culmination of the gang impulse it is exclusively the time for religious endeavor. Some students believe that the boy is least easily influenced by religion at the time when the appeal of the gang is strongest, and they also furnish us with illustrative curves. Still others have charts to show that there is a "chum time" as well as a "gang time," and the summit of the chum curve is the time of maximum religious opportunity. Giving all such conclusions due weight, we are compelled to admit that the present sum and substance of our wisdom is this: adolescence is the nascent period of the social nature, the æsthetic nature and the religious nature. It is the time of opportunity for influence along all these lines, but the prescription of moral exercise can safely follow only a most careful study of the individual. Personally—sociologist though I am—I am more afraid of our forgetting that the adolescent is an individual than I am of

our forgetting that he is a "socius," or member of a group. The rapid development of boys' work subjects us to the same kind of pressure that the teachers in the public schools are subjected to. Individual work takes time and strength and money, and we have not yet realized its importance in both religious and educational work sufficiently to pay the price.

The study of the social side of adolescence has shown us clearly the importance of group work and the development and training of the social nature, but it shows just as clearly that the fundamental thing is work by the individual for the individual. With this caution let us examine what may be called the contributions of the study of the social side of boy life to our knowledge of the boy and how to influence him.

In the first place it has been shown that the tendency to group activity must be recognized in both educational and philanthropic work. Careful tests have shown that more can be taught to a small group than can be taught the individuals alone, because of the stimulus of competition. Boys together will often respond to appeals to which the individuals are deaf. The mere fact of being together makes them more receptive and suggest-

ible. It will not escape observation that this "suggestibility" of boys in groups may work in two ways. The suggestion to which the boys respond may be given by the boy in the back seat as well as by the speaker or teacher. Naturally formed groups not only furnish an outlet for the growing social instinct, but an avenue through which various educative influences may reach the individual, who could not perhaps be reached in any other way. The Young Men's Christian Association was quick to seize upon the idea and apply it in its work, especially for boys, until much of it might be described as group work rather than mass work, or even individual work.

These group organizations of boys have been discovered to be partly reversional and partly anticipative. Some of them rehearse old and archaic forms of social organization, as a study of their rites and ceremonies will show. Others are imitations of the political and social organizations of adult life. These organizations have much the same educative function as play. In fact, they are social play and are extremely valuable in developing the social nature. Through them, if they are of the right sort, the boy is more rapidly socialized than through any other means.

Without the group loyalty which they develop, a man can be neither wholly civilized nor Christianized. Loyalty to the small group is the foundation upon which may be built, step by step, a higher and higher loyalty; first loyalty to the gang, then to class, then to school, city, country, humanity and God. (I reserve for later consideration the barbarizing influence which such organizations sometimes have.)

Then the extraordinary influence which boy has upon boy has received a new emphasis in our thought. At no time of life is he so sensitive to the influence of his mates. Good comradeship counts for more than at any other time of life, and bad comradeship works more serious harm. It is also the time when it is least easy for the teacher and parent to select the social environment. Many adolescent boys seem to have almost a mania for company which adults would not approve. The marked influence of comrades upon manners, speech and ways of looking at life does not need illustrating to any one who has had anything to do with boys of this age.

Many observers have called attention to the fact that there is apt to be a loosening of the home ties at this time. Boys seem to be possessed by

the "Wanderlust"—the wandering instinct. They are fledglings eager to try their wings, eager to fly. The home nest seems too narrow. Even among home-loving boys, there seems to come a kind of detachment in feeling from the home circle and a desire to find a wider circle. As a matter of fact, most boys at this age have to make a place for themselves in the world. This transition from home environment is almost, if not quite, as critical as the sex transition from boyhood to manhood. It is here that the Young Men's Christian Association has done its most important work, and must continue to do so.

The influence of the other sex on the adolescent boy is not so easily traced, powerful as it is, owing to the instinct to conceal all feelings connected with sex. In early adolescence the boy is very likely to be strongly influenced by some young woman, older than himself, who embodies something of his ideal of womanhood. In later adolescence the current of interest turns to girls of his own age or younger. Happy is the boy who is influenced only by noble women and pure, true-hearted girls. The right girl can influence a boy in a way that is the envy and despair of anxious teachers and parents. It is sometimes hard for a

mother to see a boy learn more manners from a sweetheart in a few weeks than she has been able to teach him in as many years.

But this confessedly powerful influence is a most difficult one to study scientifically, and it is even more difficult to harness to the chariot of the boy's best development. It must be confessed that the attitude of many adults to boy and girl attractions is so inane and silly as to be almost criminal. Sometimes it seems as if the whole idea of sex relation had been permanently poisoned for the boy by those who ought to have shown him its beautiful and sacred character. From the folly of those old enough to be wise, good Lord, deliver the boy! (See chap. IV.)

Though we must admit the difficulty of bringing the power of sex attraction to bear in helpful ways on the boy's life, this much is clear—consciously or unconsciously the boy will imitate not merely the manners but the habits of thought of his elders. The man who treats his mother or wife or sister with neglect or subtle disrespect can never teach a boy that respect and reverence for woman without which social purity is impossible. It is also clear that it is a most wholesome thing for a boy to be used to the companion-

ship of good girls of his own age, under wholesome conditions. It takes away that abnormal sex consciousness which is the bane of the boy who has had little of feminine society. It gives a wholesome turn to his thought of girls and subjects him to a hundred refining and stimulating influences. The home is the normal place for this wholesome social intercourse. Under teachers awake to its importance, the public school might be made a far better place than it is. The church, too, if it will, may furnish an atmosphere in which the best side of sex attraction may develop, though it is a sad fact that some churches neglect their opportunity scandalously and their young people's societies become schools of silliness and prurient sentiment.

It is perhaps beyond the sphere of the Young Men's Christian Association to touch this side of the boy life directly, except by example and precept, and yet it is possible that more might be done. A fuller statement of the problem will be found in "The Sex Side of Adolescence."

But something needs to be said as to certain misapprehensions and misapplications of the social phenomena of adolescence. To err is human, and also the tendency to overdrive new ideas. That

this has happened to the "group idea" in the Association, and perhaps elsewhere, is clear. To utilize naturally formed groups and to develop them is both good pedagogy and good practice; but to think that this is the beginning and the end of boys' work is as bad as to neglect group organization altogether. I have in mind some boys' work directors who seem to think that their success may be measured by the number and variety of the clubs and sub-clubs which they can organize or encourage. I think we all agree that the idea of simply following the natural bent of the boy or child has been pushed to the limit of absurdity. Our colleges and universities are already reacting from an elective system which allowed the student not merely to follow his bent, but to wander aimless along the "paths of least resistance." The fact that boys love all kinds of club organizations does not prove that this impulse can be safely allowed free rein. The social impulse needs regulating as much as the sexual impulse. "Nature," much abused word, is by no means the safe and all beneficent force that imagination depicts. Leave your garden to nature and it becomes a patch of weeds; leave the boy to nature and he reverts to the natural man or brute.

One half of education is aiding nature; the other half is obstructing her. The plant and animal have only to live the life of impulse, but man must make his life by persistent and wisely directed effort.

All this seems to have been forgotten by some boys' work directors who have had a bad case of "gangitis." They seem to think that, having gotten a lot of boys together in various groups, all they have to do is to let the pot boil. It usually does, but the cooking is poor. I have in mind a group of boys which I watched one summer, taken by a zealous boys' worker to camp out and play Indian. Little or no supervision was attempted or thought necessary, judging from the profane and indecent language, and the tyranny of the bully over the small and weak. The boys had reverted to savage if not simian instincts. I am not sure whether a prayer meeting was held at night or not, but if one had been held all night it would not have taken the "curse off the day." It made me indignant to think of the misguided parents who had allowed their boys to go in order that they might be under Christian influences.

To play Indian by sleeping in a tepee, shoot-

ing with bow and arrow, fishing and cooking over an open fire, with a mimic battle or war dance, is a good thing; but to encourage the latent savage in the boy to run riot under the name of playing Indian is criminal.

It is high time also to take warning from a growing mass of painful experience showing that it is much easier to form a group than it is to control it after it has been formed. Many a man has formed a class or a club with the best intentions, planning to lead it in useful and helpful pursuits, only to find that the gang spirit, once out of the bottle, could neither be guided nor corked up again. Some boy usurps the leadership and leaves the originator of the club to wonder what has happened. The inexperienced boys' worker needs to be warned against making the mistake of thinking that his chief work is to start organizations. The real problem is to start only such as can be kept well in hand and made helpful and wholesome as well as interesting.

The rapid growth of secret societies among high school boys is causing much discussion. It is argued in their favor that they tend to socialize the boy by making him loyal and self-sacrificing to his group. While admitting that this is a

pleasant theory supported by some facts, those of us who have studied the influence of such societies on adolescent boys have become convinced that, whatever may be true in exceptional cases, it is a serious detriment to the character, health and scholarship of a large number of high school boys. One of the great attractions of such organizations is that they are secret and free from the restraint of parents or teachers. To poor parents their expense is a serious strain. The late hours and distracting influences will not be overlooked by parents who believe that education must involve serious work and discipline. But the orgies of idiocy and vice which cannot be hidden from the public by all the veils of secrecy, and which are all too common, are a far more serious matter. A well-known writer dismisses the matter by saying, "Such societies are a comparatively safe outlet for the surplus animalism of the boy." An argument of this character may satisfy those who believe in licensing prostitution in order to protect the home, but some of us are impervious to such reasoning.

The danger of such organizations for adolescent boys lies in a very simple fact of social psychology. Even when men get together in a group

where feeling runs high and the ordinary restraints of society are absent, there is danger that there will be license and disorder and the dominance of the mob spirit. With the adolescent boy the danger is far greater. He has the passions of a man with the undeveloped moral purpose and power of self-control of a child. His emotions are quickly stirred; his inhibitory nerves work slowly. If there is ever a time when all the agencies of social control should be given full and free play, it is during adolescence. A secret society, no matter how well meaning, endangers this.

This raises the question, "What should be the aim and ideals of the social organizations of youth?" (See Hall, "Adolescence," Vol. II., p. 432.)

In answering this question, Dr. Hall says, "The prime purpose in this field which should determine every choice of matter and method is moral, viz., to so direct intelligence and will as to secure the largest measure of social service." His practical conclusion is that adolescent organizations should have for their chief objects debate, oratory and dramatic representation. "Youth loves combat, and this may be developed in debate; it loves distinction and to exert influence, and this suggests

oratory; it loves to assume rôles and to represent manifold types of human life, and this suggests the drama." As a matter of fact, most of the college fraternities have these as objects of their activity, though whether they would live by these alone is an open question. The history of the old debating and oratorical societies would seem to show that they would not, though these were very successful for a time.

There seems to be little question that much may be done along these lines for boys, particularly during later adolescence, but my observation and experience would lead me to the conclusion that for the majority of boys debating, speaking and even dramatic representation are not strong and stirring enough. To be *doing* something is the passion of youth, and most of its activities center about the doing of something and the doing it hard, as we often learn to our cost when we suffer from the mischief or malice of some boys' gang. It is clear, then, that social organizations for boys must be not merely wholesome and helpful, but they must furnish generous opportunity for the expenditure of energy, and especially in ways that contribute to the general good. This may be done through the co-

operative activities of camp life in the very best way.

The difficulty of doing this under city conditions is obvious, but the growing number of gymnasia, athletic fields, and playgrounds are furnishing new opportunities along physical lines. I remember very well visiting an Association and being rather depressed by the listless lyceums and similar organizations, but I finally found a live spot in an upper hall, which had been turned over to a group of boys to construct a canoe. Here was free play for the creative as well as the social instinct, and an outlet for energy.

SUMMARY

1. The social impulse is so closely related to the religious that it is difficult to separate them.
2. The socializing of the boy is one of the most important steps towards Christianizing him.
3. In adolescence the social life finds a new center, assumes new forms, and exercises a new influence.
4. The sex instinct and the gang instinct are dominant elements in the social development of the boy.
5. Charts of adolescent development may be

overworked. Too much generalization is dangerous.

6. Loyalty to the group may be made the basis of the most comprehensive morality.

7. "The aim of the social organizations of youth should be to so direct the intelligence and will as to secure the largest measure of social service."

CHAPTER IV

THE SEX SIDE OF ADOLESCENT BOYHOOD

Confessedly we have made little progress in the control of the sex passion. In England and America we have more veneer, more external proprieties, more pruderies than were common in the Middle Ages or prevail in other countries. We may hope that conditions are better, but we are compelled to admit that they are very bad. Our papers are filled with salacious accounts of the vagaries of the rich and luxurious. The moral sense of the young is thereby blunted, and all classes are subjected to the power of vicious suggestion. William Dean Howells grimly describes metropolitan society as "imperfectly monogamous."

Careful investigations among high school pupils and college students show that ninety out of a hundred either are guilty or have been guilty of some form of sexual irregularity. The facts are so unpleasant that the majority of people find it

more comfortable to ignore them and try to forget them. When the subject is raised in a group of ministers, teachers, parents or Y. M. C. A. men, there is apt to be much solemn wagging of the head, some trite generalizations, and then a change of subject. The magnitude and complexity of the problem is so great that we feel helpless and perplexed. We fall back on such formulæ as these, "better education," "a more rational sex hygiene," etc., with the very vaguest ideas of just how to make things better.

It is beyond question that the natural difficulty of controlling the most powerful and uncertain human passion is greatly increased by the conditions of civilized life, and we have not yet developed adequate systems of control or compensating conditions. Modern professional, commercial and industrial conditions are so much more complex that it takes much longer to equip for one's life work. Young men are still in school and college at the age when their grandfathers were heads of families. A post-graduate class in Columbia, made up largely of men expecting to teach, averaged over thirty years in age.

Limited incomes, luxurious tastes, the high cost of living, fill our great cities with bachelor men

and maids with none of the restraints and inspirations of home life. Contrast this with "ye olden time," when, in the United States at least, the young fellow of twenty married the girl of sixteen or seventeen and made a home on part of the ancestral farm, and when big families were the rule and not the exception. With plenty of arduous physical work, a wife and babies to support, the young fellow was safeguarded in nature's own way from abnormal sex temptations.

The neurotic tendency of modern life also has an unfortunate influence on the sex problem. The greatest temptations come not to those physically strongest, but to those whose nerves are at too high tension. Our life in the twentieth century is too highly seasoned with nerve stimulus, and diseased sexuality is one of the grim penalties.

It has been the habit of writers on adolescence to lay so much emphasis on the sexual side that it would seem as if little could be left to be said on the subject. But to the student it is clear that the last word has not been said. "Remarks are still in order"—especially if based on careful observation. The following chapter has grown out of the observation, at close range, and for a considerable length of time, of a group of adolescent

boys and girls who were thrown much together in exceptionally normal and wholesome ways.

Of necessity the material will lack some of the connectedness of book-drawn information, but may gain something in interest from the more directly personal source. The order of the following observations is not logical, but chronological in the sense that it follows the sequence of impressions made on the writer's mind.

There is a contrast between early and later adolescence which is in some respects more striking than that between childhood and adolescence.

The difference between a boy of fifteen and a boy of sixteen is sometimes so great that it seems as if no one of the many changes in life could equal it. At the earlier age the physiological side of sex is to the fore and the boy is absorbed, consciously or unconsciously, in the new physical processes going on within him. So far as my observation goes, he is apt to shun girls and be at least seemingly indifferent to them. During the later stage the feminine appeal becomes strong and personal with boys who are thrown enough in girls' society to make normal social intercourse possible. The educational, social and industrial conditions of our time often prevent any such in-

tercourse, but that does not affect our study of the reactions of the sex attraction under normal conditions.

The difference between the boy who is as yet indifferent to the feminine appeal and one who is susceptible to it and has, perhaps, what he conceives to be "the grand passion of his life" for some girl of his acquaintance, has not been sufficiently appreciated by either parents, teachers or leaders. The difference is not simply that in one case the girl is below the horizon of attention and in the other above it. There is a wide divergence of habits of thought, points of view and interest. Boys in the two stages cannot be handled advantageously in the same way. In the later stage the interest in what will appeal either directly or indirectly to the girl or girls makes the boy more careful of the cut of his clothes and the color of his necktie; makes him anxious to be at the front of the stage—to make "grand-stand plays." With the same instinct that leads the young cockerel to crow in season and out of season, he struts, yells and whistles—when not overcome by shyness and self-consciousness.

Our great public schools bring boys at this age in contact with girls to an increasing extent. They

are brought together not merely in the class room and in the between times, but in the rapidly developing social organizations. Though the advocates of cloister education for the young are many and respectable, co-education is inevitable in our public schools, and it is probably fortunate that it is so. Still we must admit that it raises very serious problems familiar to those who know anything of the inside of school life. The theory is that interest in school work and sports should absorb so much of the boy's energy and attention that his "affections will be kept in cold storage."

Several things, however, interfere with this. School work, even under almost ideal conditions, is not all-absorbing to the average boy. Athletic sports and gymnastic work do not as yet reach half of the pupils—though there is a rapid improvement in this matter—and nature is not a respecter of theories. The same force of sexual attraction which has such a tremendous influence on adult life is at work during adolescence, and with a power and persistence which self-absorbed and scheme-blinded elders are in danger of forgetting.

There can be little question that the companionship of the right kind of girls under natural and

wholesome conditions is one of the best possible moral safeguards. Many a boy is kept from secret vice or licentiousness by an attachment for a pure girl, who unconsciously exerts a greater restraining influence than that of parents and teachers combined.

But to return to the problem side, the sex attraction, like fire, is a good servant but a poor master, and needs to be safeguarded in ways which become increasingly difficult with the growth of our public schools. What might be called the middle stage of adolescence is a peculiarly critical time. The passions often have all but the intensity of maturity, while the power of self-control is very undeveloped.

Only the doctor and the teacher can estimate the number of lives which are wrecked at this period. It is clear that every effort must be made, not merely to develop self control, but to furnish external control until that is done, and that is just what is most difficult under the conditions of modern school life. The number of pupils is so great, and the number of teachers is so few, and the teacher's time and strength are so absorbed by class-room work that control by the teacher is very limited in comparison with what

it might be. Many parents, however, seem to feel relieved of all moral responsibility because their children are at school. The result is that the unregulated sex passions often lead to tragedies which are the dark side of school life.

Undoubtedly "the remedy for the evils of democracy is more democracy," but not less control, which means anarchy. Our schools are the most democratic of all our democratic institutions, and they have faults that correspond in magnitude with their merits. The well-bred and the ill-bred, the pure and the impure, the clean and the unclean, the healthy and the diseased, sit side by side in the class room and mingle on the playground. With all our care the school is the great distributor of both physical diseases and moral contaminations. That, of course, does not mean less public schools, but it *does* mean more careful hygiene and sanitation—both physical and moral. So far we have paid more attention to the danger of physical contagion than to moral. Those of you who have seen some fine young fellow, with large possibilities for good, dragged, by the strength of a passion which he did not understand and which he could not control, into a disastrous connection with some schoolmate who appealed to the animal side of his nature,

or have known an innocent but weak girl pass from the high school to the hospital, from the brothel to a dishonored grave, through the influences of some young criminal with whom she was thrown in contact while at school, do not need to have the appeal for a better and more thorough social and moral control in school life.

The demand is for more teachers and better teachers, who have the ability and the time to develop wholesome social conditions among their pupils, as well as to train their minds, and to develop a strong personal relation with the individual pupil.

There is a very marked difference in the way in which boys are influenced by girls. Some boys, and this is supposed to be the ideal condition, are attracted in a general way by many girls and even women, but are not carried away by any very absorbing regard for one in particular. There seems to be a kind of safety in numbers. Many parents try to make their sons immune from premature attacks of the "gentle passion" by making them familiar with girls' society. It is probably a good thing, if wisely done, but my observation leads me to believe that temperament is usually the deciding factor in determining whether the

boy will be influenced most by femininity in general or one girl in particular.

Among the boys who are strongly drawn to one special girl there is also a very marked difference of reaction on feeling and conduct. This is only to say that boys in love act very much as do men in love, each after his own kind. Some become restless, sentimental and incapable of continued serious work. They pass through a hundred phases of serio-comic tragedy every day. They are usually rendered even more miserable than they would otherwise be by the jeers and ridicule of companions and elders. The ridicule of companions may be wholesome, it is certainly unavoidable; that of adults is too often not merely unfeeling, but does the boy a serious irreparable harm. It is quite true that boy and girl attachments are not to be taken too seriously, as lasting "till death do us part," but they cannot be taken too seriously as being most critical episodes in a boy's life. The growth of the most beautiful and sacred instincts may be checked and distorted by the all but criminal foolishness of adults.

Fortunately boys are not likely to remain very long in the sickly sentimental stage of adolescent love. If the boy is in good health, and conditions

are normal, his interest in vigorous and wholesome activities will reassert itself and restore his balance; or a new type of girl may appear and change, not merely the direction but the character of his affections.

Occasionally a boy and girl affection ripens into a lifelong attachment, but this is the exception, not the rule. The susceptible boy yields successively to the charms of different types of girls. At one time it is the athletic girl; at another time the artistic and picturesque; at still another the piquant and coquettish; and so on. Needless to say, the boy does not always consult either sound sense or the sense of the family meetings. The vagariousness of the love affairs of this type of boy may be easily explained though it may not satisfy our sense of the ideal. He has many sides to his nature, and not having found the plane of equilibrium, has first one side up and then another; and it is not strange that there should be not merely a "rotation in the crop" of interests, but in girls as well. Of course he will think that each new girl is "the strictly last appearance" and feels outraged when his elders suspend judgment.

It may also be said in excuse for the boy, that for thousands of years men were not strictly mo-

nogamous in habit and still are not universally so in feeling. But natural and perhaps unavoidable as this succession of interests may be, it is a source of a very real peril to the boy. It is liable to develop an inconstant habit of mind, to dull the fine sense of loyalty, and produce that most unmanly thing—a male flirt. The best preventives and correctives would seem to be these: first, the boy should be prevented, as far as possible, from being thrown with girls under conditions favorable to the development of abnormal sentimentality. The companionship of other boys is perhaps the best antidote, and of sensible girls the next best. In the next place, the boy should be trained in a high sense of loyalty to all womankind, and made to feel that to win love and then cast it aside is not merely cruel, but unmanly.

In many schools and colleges the barbaric idea prevails among a certain class of students that to win the affections of as many girls as possible is to prove oneself a "heap big Injun." I have heard young fellows boast of their numerous "mashes" as an Indian might of a scalp at his belt. But I do injustice to the bloody Indian. In the main, he took only the scalps of his enemies.

Much is said and written in these days con-

cerning the instinct of gang loyalty, a very ancient and very useful instinct, though sometimes distinctly unmoral. Is it not high time for us to place more emphasis on the development of loyalty to the *girl*? The young fellow who has been trained to treat the other fellow's sister as he would have the other fellow treat his own, is safeguarded against many needless pains and regrets.

Again the youth should be helped to the realization of the fact that he is not yet a finished product, that his tastes and character have not matured, and that he is in no more condition to make a final choice of a partner for life than he is to enter at once upon his trade or profession, and that he has thus no moral right to give pledges or expect them. Careful parents and teachers have made much of the sacredness of the human body, and that is well; but more care should be taken to magnify the sacredness of love, and therefore of the love language. In doing so, it is easy to appeal to the natural shyness and reticence of the boy.

But when all is said, the very best preventive for the evils of adolescent love-making is preoccupation with other things. The main business

of the youth is getting the physical, mental, and moral training which will enable him to do a man's work and play a man's part in the world, and he should be held rigorously to it. He must be made to feel that he must become a *man* before he can become a *lover*.

But we must consider still another type, less common but not less interesting. Occasionally a boy will be found who fixes his affection upon one girl with a tenacity and singleness of purpose beautiful to see. His friends can only pray that it is the right girl, for when he becomes a man he will be made or marred by the woman of his choice. With such a boy affection will be a constant spur and stimulus to work, and to perfecting himself along many lines. Such a boy need furnish little anxious thought to his well-wishers, if his choice be wise. He has within himself a better regulative force than any which can be furnished from without. All that his friends need to do is to take care that he has the opportunity to make his choice from among really fine girls.

Much has been made of the importance of developing the moral sense and the moral agencies of control, to which the heartiest assent may be given. Without discussing the question whether

a complete morality would include religion, it is clear that morality in the ordinary sense of the term is something less than religion. "Religion is morality touched with emotion," made personal and more appealing, and, therefore, capable of a more complete control of life. We have been so bewitched with high-sounding pedagogic formulæ that we sometimes forget what is as clear as daylight in principle and has been fully demonstrated in practice: strong religious feeling and principle are the best regulator and normalizer of all life, including the sexual. We cannot handle the problems of sex without a renewed emphasis upon plain, old-fashioned piety. The heart that is right with God has found its normal center and so its moral equilibrium. Here is the opportunity for the Church, the home and the Young Men's Christian Association. We have laid too much responsibility upon the schools. If the Young Men's Christian Association in developing its other work overlooks or neglects its religious work, it is recreant to its trust and misses its supreme opportunity.

SUMMARY

1. Love is a force which must be seriously reckoned with in the life of the average boy.

2. The relationship between boys and girls should be more carefully controlled than is now possible in the public schools.

3. The attraction of sex is often a most erratic and disturbing force. The best antidotes for these disturbances are wholesome occupation, wholesome companions and a highly developed sense of honor and loyalty.

4. Dr. Hall brings out the fact that love "sensitizes" the soul to the æsthetic and the moral side of life, and thus may be utilized as a highly effective educative agency.

5. The close relation between sex and religious feeling also points to the fact that religious feelings and principles are the best normalizers of the sex life at any age. It is providential, then, that the boy is peculiarly responsive to the appeal of religion at the time when he becomes responsive to the appeal of sex. It seems to be a part of the divine plan that love of God and love of woman should go hand in hand, and we anxious parents and friends would do well to remember it.

CHAPTER V

THE AESTHETIC SIDE OF ADOLESCENT BOYHOOD

The æsthetic nature involves two faculties or capacities—the capacity to perceive beauty of form, sound or color, and the capacity to enjoy it. The æsthetic nature, then, is partly a matter of the intellect and partly a matter of the emotions. It may be described as sensuous in that its appeal is through the senses, and yet the highly developed æsthetic nature is a most wonderful vehicle of spiritual impulse. In this it is like the sexual nature, sensuous, and at the same time normally related to the most spiritual side of human nature.

Students differ as to the origin of the æsthetic nature (see Stanley's "Psychology of Feeling"). Some insist that it is simply a somewhat complex and sophisticated expression of sex. To state it somewhat bluntly, "Beauty is not its own excuse for being," as the poet thought, but a sexual appeal. The plumage of the bird and its song; the

color and fragrance of the flowers; the music of Beethoven and Wagner; the painting of Correggio, Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci; the poetry of Tennyson and Browning—all are connected in some way with the great fact of sex. But conceding the direct and indirect sexual appeals through all forms of beauty, most of us will be inclined to see in this view the same pseudo-profoundity which makes religion simply one of the manifestations of sex. According to the modern conception of the unity of all things, including human nature, the close relationship of all vital phenomena is not a matter of surprise. The æsthetic nature, as well as the religious and sexual natures, is one of the expressions of a single, though many-sided life. Some of us confess to a sense of weariness as we listen to the incessant and persistent emphasis placed on *sexuality*. It suggests that much of current thought is in the adolescent phase, and hyper-conscious of sex. Is it not time to remind ourselves that *life* is the great end, and sex simply the means to the end?

There is no need of entering into any scholastic discussion of the nature of beauty, which would be as profitable as any discussion of ultimate reality. There are some things which cannot be

defined except by a description of characteristics. What is life? Not a sage of them all can tell us, though life be the central fact of the universe. What is beauty? No one can give a satisfactory answer, though we know and love the beautiful.

But since our purpose is a practical one, we may satisfy ourselves with the general statement that "the true, the beautiful and the good" constitute a trinity of ideals to which the intellectual, the moral, and the æsthetic natures of man reach out as naturally as does the plant to the sunlight, air and moisture. And truth, goodness and beauty, distinct and diverse as they are, are still fundamentally one, and should not be separated in education any more than in thought. One cannot find truth and neglect beauty or goodness. One cannot be good in the highest sense, who does not respect the true and love the beautiful. One cannot appreciate the higher forms of beauty who has not made room in his soul for truth and goodness. This is so self-evident that it would seem to need neither illustration nor emphasis, and yet it is ignored too often in education and in life.

The æsthetic nature is so closely related to both the intellectual and the moral that any scheme of education which neglects it is like a two-legged

stool, incapable of standing alone. We cannot say that those who are undeveloped on the æsthetic side do not have some measure of intelligence and goodness, any more than we can deny the same qualities to one who is sickly or crippled in body; but they are neither *as* intelligent nor *as* good as they would be if they knew and loved the beautiful.

Notwithstanding all the growing appreciation of the value of æsthetic training, many teachers and parents still act as if it belonged to the frills and furbelows of education, and could be safely neglected. In fact, even in this twentieth century, we too often plan our systems and appliances of education as if the training of the *mind* were its exclusive aim. We give diplomas and degrees to those who have been through a certain intellectual mill, but are undeveloped in their moral or æsthetic natures. That a young man should grow up in factory or store with comparatively little development of the sense of beauty is excusable, but that one should graduate from university, college, or even high school without it is inexcusable. If beauty were a negligible factor in life, why should the Great Architect have made the world so beautiful?

There are, thus, at least two reasons why the development of a sense of beauty should be made an integral and important part of education.

(1) In the first place the perception and appreciation of beauty add immeasurably to the joy of living, and if you are ever tempted to think that joy is not its own excuse for being, listen to the song of the bobolink. The pathway of life is steep and arduous, but it is strewn with flowers if we only know where to look for them, and vistas of beauty stretch out on either side. The enjoyment of beauty is one of those wholesome delights that leave no bad taste in the mouth, and is the solace of age as well as the delight of youth. It is one of the pleasures which do not "perish in the using." To acquire a capacity for the enjoyment of good literature, good music, good pictures, and of the beauties of woods and fields and sky, is the best old-age insurance ever devised. He who has it has found that for which Ponce de Leon sought in vain—the Spring of Youth.

If the function of education is the enlargement and enrichment of life, we cannot afford to neglect the æsthetic faculties.

(2) In the second place, the power to perceive the beautiful is so closely related to the power to

perceive truth and goodness that we cannot neglect it. We have passed through an instructive experience in the development of the physical work of the Young Men's Christian Association, and also in general education. At first physical education was looked at as a bait to attract young men. Then it dawned upon us that physical culture was vitally and causally related to intellectual and moral culture, and we began to look at it as a means to moral and intellectual ends. Now we have come to see that a strong, vigorous, trained body is worth while for its own sake, for the sake of the symmetry of life, the all-round manhood fitting in a son of Him who "planned a perfect whole."

We are sure to pass through a similar evolution of thought in relation to æsthetic culture, and it will be made an important part, not merely of specialized education, but of general education. We cannot enrich our youth financially by education, though we may increase their earning capacity; but they can be enriched indefinitely in capacity for life.

That adolescence is the time of opportunity for the development of the æsthetic faculties is obvious, though the adolescent boy, especially during

the early part of adolescence, often seems singularly unappreciative of beauty in any form. He craves sensations that are more vigorous than refined. He has no use for the symphonies of Beethoven, but delights in the blarings of a brass band. For poetry and good literature he often has a positive distaste, but dotes on tales of adventure in which beauty of thought and expression are conspicuous by their absence. Of the refinements of art he knows little and cares less. In so far as he knows what the aesthetic side of life is, he thinks it belongs to girls and old folks. The exceptional boy of his own age who has a talent for music or drawing is looked on as a freak who belongs in a class by himself. So vigorous is this feeling in the average boy during early adolescence, and sometimes all through it, that one very familiar with boy life might be tempted to think that adolescence was not the nascent period for the development of the love of beauty. There might even seem to be a sound genetic inference from the apparent lateness of the development of art in civilization. At first thought it seems to be a somewhat late refinement of civilization and quite impossible when life was one fierce struggle for existence, and where there was little leisure for

artistic pursuits. But a closer study will discover the fact that art, though, like all other achievements, crude in its beginnings, is as old as the human race whose history we can trace. The æsthetic faculty surely emerged in the early youth of the race, if not during its childhood. We have no sure way of determining what the general attitude of prehistoric man toward the beauty of the world was, but we have indisputable evidence of his instinct to imitate the attractive and to ornament his implements, articles of apparel and himself. Our archeological museums abound with illustrations of primitive art—of wonderful pottery with unique decorations, beautifully chipped flints, and exquisitely carved wood and bones.

Taking into consideration the general parallelism of the development of the race and the individual, we should expect that art instinct would first manifest itself in the boy in somewhat the same way as among primitive men, and that is the case. When the boy begins to decorate his belongings with pen, pencil and knife, often to the horror of his elders, the decorative instinct is asserting itself. His fondness for yells, noise and brass bands shows a growing sense of the meaning of sound. As war whoops and war songs were

the first forms of social and martial effort to utilize sound, it is not strange that he takes to music first on its martial side.

That the cultivation of the voice should be a part of education is clear, though not as widely recognized, or generally acted upon, as it ought to be. As the ear is the organ of impression, so the voice is the organ of expression, and by a mysterious but very real law of psychology, expression reacts upon the nature of the thought and feeling expressed. A careful study of the voices and tones of boys will show that they are subtle indices of character. Egoism asserts itself in a certain stridency of tone; an exasperating raucousness and explosiveness of tone indicates a longing for strength and virility, but it is still true that the boy at this stage can be taught the æsthetic use of the voice. The relation of the cultivation of the voice to character was perceived by Aristotle, who taught that music moulded character as gymnastics the body.

This does not mean that the boy should be allowed to utter only harmonious, pleasing sounds, supposing such a thing to be possible. It does mean, however, that the voice should be trained as the most important organ of expression. A

good yell is often as much to be encouraged as are harmoniousness and melodious song.

When the boy begins to hang his den with trophies and knickknacks, we may see the reflection of the time when his remote ancestors began to ornament their homes with things which were to them attractive and significant. It is clear, then, that an important step in æsthetic education is to encourage the boy to decorate and beautify in appropriate ways the things in which he is interested—his den, his baseball bat or the paddle of his canoe. The æsthetic faculty may also be trained with the exercise of the creative faculty. The building of a canoe offers a splendid opportunity for combining technical and art education. In few things are beauty and symmetry more closely related to utility. In gardening, also, which appeals to the old farming instinct so deeply rooted in most boys, there is a rare opportunity to combine the development of a sense of beauty and love for nature with a useful activity.

The experiments which have been made by such concerns as the National Cash Register Company and various schools show that boys under wise guidance develop great artistic sense in the ar-

rangement of gardens, as well as an affection for the beauty and grace of growing things. That such occupations revolutionized the boys who had been a terror to the community, and actually raised the value of real estate in that vicinity, was only natural. Not merely were the boys given an outlet for surplus energy and their interests diverted to wholesome channels, but their sense of the value of order was developed. We have not yet begun to realize the importance of the art side of education in the making of good citizens and developing forces of social control. Criminal statistics show that the lack of a trade or a training for work is one of the most fruitful sources of crime. Further investigation would show that as a cause of crime *lack of interest in one's work* stands next to *lack of capacity for work*, and this lack of interest is due in a considerable degree to the failure to make of one's occupation an art—that is, to the lack of aesthetic training. The boy who has learned to do something useful and to be proud of doing it in a thorough and artistic manner, who is an artist as well as an artisan, is not a candidate for the penitentiary.

Questions sent out recently to students in agricultural schools show an increased interest in

farming among young men of character. One of the reasons for this is the fact that the scientific study of agriculture has shown that farming may be made a fine art, as well as a business. A farm may be a work of art, as well as a painting. A machine shop may enlist the æsthetic faculty as well as the studio.

One of the significant signs of the times is that hard-headed, practical business men have begun to discover the relation of æsthetic surroundings and æsthetic training to industrial productiveness. Millions of dollars are being spent annually by the great captains of industry in beautifying mills and shops and the homes of workers. The walls of some workrooms are covered with fine pictures which are changed at regular intervals. Halls and offices are made bright with flowers. Lunch and recreation rooms are made attractive by good music. In one mill at least girls are trained to sing in chorus, and encouraged to sing together at their work. Why? Because it *pays* to have workers happy and contented. The best work is done by the cheerful worker, and beauty is one of the great joy bringers. We may hope for a kind of economic millennium when the leaders of business and industry fully realize the value

in dollars and cents of the aesthetic side of life.

The value of a certain degree of aesthetic training in some occupations is clear, and the value of an appreciation of beauty and the opportunity for its exercise in making men and women more cheerful, and so better workers, is seen by some. Few, however, have seen why aesthetic interests are of so great *economic* value to the worker. It is not enough that the human machine have fuel and rest. It must have recreation and relaxation. This is increasingly true as the demands of modern industry on the nervous system become greater.

One of the serious problems of industrial life is that the worker often seeks for recreation in ways that will endanger both his character and his economic usefulness. The saloon, the theater and the billiard and game rooms have long met the demand for amusements, but not for *recreation*, and we are only just coming to our senses and the realization that it is as important that our workers have wholesome amusements, as that they have wholesome air and food.

Realizing this, encouragement to and opportunity for outdoor sports and gymnastics have been given. This is good, and we must have more

parks, more playgrounds and more gymnasia. But these are not enough. Many a worker does not need and will not enjoy mere muscular activity or play that demands fine muscular coordination. He needs an entire change. Overworked nerve centers must be rested; dormant centers must be stimulated and aroused in wholesome ways.

The *exercise of the aesthetic faculty* has been shown by experience to do this in a most *extraordinary* way. Workers in social settlements testify to the absorbing interest which workers of even the lowest class have shown in being introduced into the world of the beautiful. In fact, it may be said that the ethical and economic value of such culture has been more completely demonstrated in the settlement than anywhere else. It is a sight not likely to be forgotten to see toilers from our metropolitan workshops listening with breathless attention to classical music, studying the masterpieces of art, and giving a Greek play with taste and power. It is enough to convince one that we have sadly neglected one of the great dynamic factors in popular education.

The reason for this interest is undoubtedly partly psychical and partly physical. From the monotony of their daily lives the world of romance

and of art is a blessed retreat. But the stirring of entirely new nerve centers and the resting of old explain much of the attraction of such aesthetic interests and occupations.

The time has come for the Young Men's Christian Association to enlarge its conception of all-round manhood so as to include with the intellectual and spiritual, the physical and social, the *aesthetic nature* also. In our moments of humility we must admit that, notwithstanding the much multiplied phrase "all-round manhood," many Association men have been somewhat lacking in appreciation of the aesthetic side of life. If we are quite honest, we will admit that we have not paid much attention to what might be called the "refinements of life." Even good manners have sometimes been neglected through thoughtlessness or through the desire to make young fellows who had none feel at home. Recall the various "feeds" and socials in the Association. Were the manners of a refined Christian gentleman always in evidence? But, you say: "Are not the very fellows whom we most wish to help those who have not had the advantages of culture? You cannot expect refined manners or aesthetic tastes in the fellows who live in cheap lodging houses and work

hard for small salaries." Quite right; but that is all the more reason for our making every effort to supply the culture elements which their environment lacks. The fact that many of the young men who come to the repasts furnished by a generous ladies' auxiliary do not often have an opportunity to see real ladies, should make us peculiarly anxious that they be given the opportunity then. If neither secretary, physical director nor boys' work director recognizes that culture and refinement of manner and taste are part of the equipment of the all-round Christian gentleman, a great opportunity is lost. An illustration will give this observation point. A young mill hand drifted into an Association and came under the influence of the secretary. He became a Christian and a lover of the Association work, and is now a most successful secretary. When asked what attracted him to the Association first, he replied, half humorously, "The manners and clothes of the secretary." He was a gentleman as well as a Christian. The young fellow's æsthetic nature was first touched and then his moral and spiritual nature.

But we are growing in our appreciation of this side of life. A friendly critic of the Association said to the writer not long since, "I am more im-

pressed by the improvement in the manners and bearing of your officers than I am by your statistics." A study of Association architecture and equipment shows a refreshing growth of good taste and perception of the utility of æsthetic environment. But a study of entertainment courses shows that we have much to learn. Limited resources cannot excuse some of the performances served up in Association halls.

It has been said that the place to begin the education of the boy is with his grandfather. Evidently the first place to develop a higher sense of the value of culture, refinement and the æsthetic side of life is in the paid officer of the Association, and the first place to apply it is in the boys' work. We have made a splendid beginning in physical work for boys, and the moral, religious and intellectual ideal is more and more clearly seen and progressively realized. Is it not high time for us to make the development of the æsthetic side of the perfected manhood a constant aim in our work?

This does not mean that we should have lectures on art or classical music for street boys, though worse things have been done than that; but it does mean that the boys' work director shall be a

gentleman in manners and tastes, with the essence of real culture, not its frills, in his speech and conduct. It means that we shall try to develop the sense of beauty and the eternal fitness of things as we do admiration for strength and right living. It means that the rooms used for boys' work shall be not merely clean, but appropriately arranged and decorated. It means that in the gymnasium the boy will be taught to value "good form" in gymnastic feats. It means that the entertainments for the boys shall furnish not merely amusements and technical information, but food for the æsthetic nature, which is ready to awake. It means that our religious work shall be conducted with good taste as well as enthusiasm. The vulgar pietism which does not act as if even God were a gentleman will be banished. It means that everywhere the boy will be encouraged to look for beauty and to relate it to life and character, in the spirit of the Master Teacher who said, "Behold, the lilies of the field. Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these."

Appreciation of the beauty of nature is essential to æsthetic culture. Boys by no means always have what we know as love of nature, though they are normally fond of outdoor life and outdoor

books. But adolescence is the time when the love of nature will develop. It is, as we have seen, the time of opportunity for nature study. But the real educative significance of nature study for boys has not been thoroughly understood by the boys' worker in the Association. It has been looked on as bait to be used if the boy demanded it and the leader was able to give it. But we shall come to see that, next to love of God and love of home, love of nature is the greatest force which makes for righteousness which we know. The Latins were fond of speaking of the "*Vis medicatrix naturæ*" —the curative or healing power of nature. But the healing power of nature applies to the soul as well as the body. A boy who loves the woods and fields, the lakes and rivers and seas, responds to all the appeal of the out-of-doors, and has an intelligent affection for the woodland folk and every living thing, has within him an unfailing spring of moral as well as physical health. The time is near when we shall see that conversion is a larger thing than we knew, involving not merely love of God and love of God's children, but love of God's world. I look forward confidently to the time when nature study will be an important part of the training of every worker for boys.

A study of the history of the race copiously illustrates the fact that religion and the appreciation of nature thrive or fail together, and we have good reason to believe that the renewed interest in the study of nature, which is so characteristic of our time, will be attended by a revival of religious enthusiasm and activity. It is more than a coincidence that some of our greatest missionaries have been also famous naturalists.

To the boy whose eyes have been opened to the wonders of nature, she becomes a burning bush, aflame with the presence of God. Often the still, small voice of God is heard in the quiet of the wood by one who has been deaf to the voice of preacher and teacher.

But it needs to be said here that the love of nature is often killed by the foolishness of teaching. The nascent enthusiasm for nature may easily be smothered by ponderous names and technical details, which may be important to the advanced student but not for the growing boy. If he gains inspiration from his teacher, he will gain information largely for himself.

As to methods of nature study, Dr. Hall has this significant thing to say: "My thesis is that in early adolescence boys normally approach any

and every branch of science over the same road which the race traversed in a pre-scientific age." It is to be feared that the methods of teaching natural science in many of our schools and colleges have dwarfed rather than developed the love of nature. During youth science must be taught in a broad and vital way, in a distinctly religious and æsthetic spirit, "reopening the half-obsured but yet broad road by which man passes from nature to nature's God."

In order, then, to secure the development of the "perfect man in Christ Jesus," we must put æsthetic training side by side with religious, intellectual and physical training.

SUMMARY

1. The æsthetic nature is that which enables us to perceive *beauty* in form, sound, or color, or ideas.
2. The æsthetic nature, like the religious and sexual natures, is not a thing apart, but an expression of a single, though many-sided life.
3. Truth, righteousness and beauty, diverse as they are in some of their manifestations, are still fundamentally one. One cannot be good in the

highest sense who does not perceive the beautiful and the true.

4. The development of the sense of beauty should be made an integral and important part in education. (a) Because it adds to the joy of living. (b) Because it is necessary to the perception of both truth and righteousness.

5. Adolescence is the time of opportunity for the development of the æsthetic faculty, though boys do not seem æsthetic in their tastes.

6. The training of the voice should be one of the first steps in æsthetic training, since the voice is one of the most important organs of expression.

7. With it should go the training of the eye and hand in ways that exercise the creative as well as the æsthetic faculty.

8. It is the perception of beauty which gives interest to life and makes artists out of artisans.

9. The exercise of the æsthetic faculty has an economic as well as a moral value. It is recreative in the best sense of the word.

10. In our conception of all-round manhood we must include, with the intellectual, spiritual, physical and social natures, the æsthetic.

CHAPTER VI

THE RELIGIOUS SIDE OF ADOLESCENT BOYHOOD

It has always been recognized by religious leaders that adolescence is the period of greatest susceptibility to religious appeals, but there has not been absolute agreement as to the reasons for it. Some insist that it is because of the very close relation between religion and sex. Recent writers have asserted that religion is simply a product of sex feeling, and therefore to be expected only after the sexual nature has begun to develop. Unquestionably there is a relation between sex and religion, and an important one, but it has been clearly overworked. We shall keep well within the bounds of scientific accuracy if we simply affirm that adolescence is the time of greatest susceptibility to all the great emotional appeals of life. It is the germinating time of the great social emotions and activities which normally mature in adult life.

But before discussing the religious side of ado-

lescence we must have a working definition of religion and morality. Dr. Hall's definitions are certainly broad enough. He defines religion "at its highest potency as union with God." "True religion is normally the surest, because the most comprehensive kind of growth." "In its most fundamental sense conversion is a natural, normal, universal and necessary process." "Morality may be defined as life in the interest of the race," and since love of man and love of God in their highest forms cannot be separated, neither can morality and religion. Further definitions will be given as we proceed, but these are sufficient for the present.

Clearly our first problem is to describe some of the peculiar characteristics of the religious psychology of boyhood.

PECULIAR PHENOMENA

(It must be understood that the phenomena to be described are not found in every individual, nor are they strictly normal, but they are common enough and sufficiently marked to demand attention and study.)

1. *A Sense of Sin.* "The sense of sin is the most intense self-consciousness" (Hall), and ado-

lescence is preeminently the time of accentuated self-consciousness. But this is only one element in the sense of sin in the religious experience of youth. With the increasing keenness of sense perception there comes a new capacity for moral perception. Differences of ideals and conduct are seen with greater clearness, as well as differences in form and color. For the first time goodness and badness stand out in striking contrast, as well as beauty and ugliness, harmony and discord. In the olden time this consciousness of sin was often overwhelmingly intense and morbid; but in these days we have swung to the other extreme of laying all the responsibility for evil at the doors of heredity and environment. This reacts on adolescent psychology in a way that makes the old-time consciousness of sin impossible. One cannot be surprised at such incidents as this. The adolescent daughter of a friend of the writer coolly remarked when detected in a falsehood, "Oh, well, I am in that stage, you know."

There are many psychologists and religious leaders who tell us that a sense of sin is neither to be expected nor encouraged; that the religious life should develop as smoothly and unconsciously as that of a plant. It is a pleasant theory, but I

am persuaded that profounder thought will convince us that the old feeling that "conviction of sin" was necessary to conversion was based on an intuitive perception of a fundamental psychological principle. Just as the appreciation of beauty involves the recognition of ugliness; of wisdom, ignorance; of harmony, discord; so the appreciation of the perfection of the ideal of conduct will involve the perception of the imperfection of the real. A student makes the most rapid progress after he has come to a painful sense of the limitations of his present knowledge and capacity. The soul that cries out, "God be merciful to me a sinner!" has taken the first step towards righteousness.

We are accustomed to laugh with scorn at the story of the man who was convicted of "Adam's sin," but if we look deeper we shall see that there is an inheritance of evil which the one with eyes newly opened to the sin of the world cannot overlook. This feeling, manifested so often in some form during adolescence, is a mark of the dawning of race-consciousness, which follows hard upon that of self-consciousness. Instead of laughing at it and considering it abnormal, we should look upon it as the symptom of the development of

social sympathy, and the recognition of the solidarity of the race, and a time of golden opportunity for inspiring in the boy the purpose to cleanse rather than defile the stream of heredity which flows through him. It may be made one of the strongest incentives to pure and wholesome living. Many an adult has had to lament the fact that the thought came to him too late.

2. The Change of Ideas. Skepticism and Criticism. Adolescence is the time of questioning. Social creeds, theological creeds, and the most time-honored maxims of the race are subjected to a most caustic criticism, with most astonishing and most unjustifiable conceit. Often adults, whose memory is defective, think that the irreverence and egotism of the rising generation have never been paralleled in the history of the race, and hurl paternal and pedagogic anathemas at the young critic. Nothing could be more useless or unwise. The growing critical faculty should be treated with the same respect as the other great faculties of the mind, and encouraged to a normal exercise. The youth should be encouraged to reverently "prove all things" in order that he may "hold fast to that which is good." Only so can he acquire the vertebrate convictions which can

be relied on to stand upright in the storm and stress of life.

An abnormally critical and skeptical habit of mind is often made chronic by an attempt to crush it by authority and dogma, and not to regulate it by reason, the God-given rudder of the soul. Many an over-anxious parent and teacher in his desire to establish agencies of moral and religious control has paralyzed or perverted the rational faculty upon which at last every soul must depend for guidance. Much of the skepticism of adolescence is due to bad preaching and bad teaching, and is unnecessary. The normal skepticism of youth is simply the attempt of the fledgling reason to try its wings and acquire the art of flight.

CONVERSION

We have been accustomed to use the word conversion to describe the process by which the religious motives, ideals and forces become dominant in the life of the individual, and we have thought of it as unique, mysterious and unparalleled. Until comparatively recently to subject it to scientific investigation, even of a reverent sort, was considered an act of impiety. But a beginning has been made in a rational study of the psy-

chology of conversion, and it is becoming clear that, while conversion is indeed a most wonderful thing, as all vital processes are, it is not outside the domain of discoverable law, and is of the same fundamental nature as a number of other vital processes.

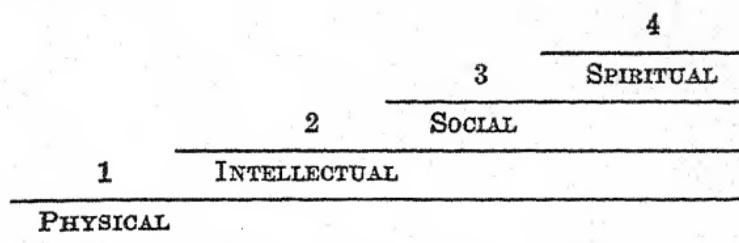
Life itself is one of these indefinable but not indescribable mysteries. We can describe some of its characteristics, though we do not know its essence. One of the fundamental characteristics of a living being is a continuous and progressive adjustment and adaptation of an organism to its environment. Death comes when this adjustment is no longer possible. Before birth the infant lives the life of a fish; at birth it becomes an air-breathing animal. But if at birth the lungs do not adjust themselves to breathing air, death comes. This, if not the first, is one of the most striking of a long series of adjustments, some physiological and some psychological. The child must first adapt itself to its physical environment —must learn the qualities of things by taste and touch and sight, and learn to choose the good and avoid the bad. This may be described as *physical conversion*. (Sad to relate, many adults have never been soundly converted to the laws of the

physical world.) Then the child must learn to adapt himself to his intellectual environment—must adjust himself to the world of ideas. When he has come into a working harmony with the laws of mind, he has been *intellectually converted*. Another important conversion is *social*. The child very early discovers that folks are among the most important facts and forces with which he has to do. At first it is mother, father, brother and sister, and then an ever-widening circle with whom some kind of adjustment must be made.

But there is still another world to which the growing soul must adjust itself, and that is the *world of spirit*. Just as the boy must learn to live in harmony with his companions in order to be really happy, so he must learn also to live in harmony with God and the laws of the spiritual world in order to have the blessedness of goodness. From this point of view what is commonly called conversion may be defined as the *conscious adjustment of the individual to the will of God*. Spiritual conversion is then the natural culmination of a series of conversions, and should be the highest goal of education.

It is obvious that these conversions, while they form a kind of progressive series, overlap and are

continuous through life. The following diagram may be helpful in illustrating the sequence of conversions:—



Of course we must bear in mind the danger of attempting to illustrate a complex vital process by a mechanical figure.

There is large opportunity for debate over the details of this complex series of conversions, but the general outlines of the process are so clear that he who runs may read. To be "soundly converted," one must have learned to live in general harmony with the facts and forces of the physical world, the mental world, the social world and the spiritual. This is simply to put into psychological language the Association ideal of the all-round Christian man.

(When we say that conversion is natural and to be expected, it does not mean that it is unavoidable. A certain degree of physical adaptation is

a necessary condition of life, but under the more or less artificial conditions of modern civilization one may exist, although seriously out of harmony with his mental, social and spiritual environment.)

Our diagram, illustrating the progressive series of conversions, suggests what experience attests, that the best preparation for spiritual conversion is the habit of harmonious adjustment to the laws of each plane of life and experience. Habitual respect for the laws of physics and physiology, for the laws of thought, for the laws of society, will predispose to obedience to the spiritual laws of God.

It is the fashion in many current discussions of conversion to ignore the supernatural element. In this, as in so many other instances, the pendulum of thought has swung from one extreme to the other. A generation ago, so much emphasis was laid on the mysterious and miraculous and supernatural, that the possibility of conversion being a natural and to-be-expected event in the process of natural growth was all but ignored. Attempts at a scientific study of the phenomena of conversion were met by the quotation, "The wind bloweth where it listeth"—which was sup-

posed to give divine authority for the statement that such a study was useless, if not impious.

Such ideas are fast passing, if not already passed. We have come to see that what we call natural laws are simply our formulations of the uniformity with which God acts. From the divine standpoint, nothing is supernatural. What we do not understand we call supernatural. We have outgrown the idea that it is irreverent to study the workings of the Spirit of God upon the spirit of man, as our fathers outgrew the idea that it was irreverent to study His ways in the natural world. We have come to see that in no way can we come closer to the mind of God than by trying to think His thoughts after Him.

But many, while refusing to allow that anything can be called supernatural, have kept the distinction in their own subconsciousness in a very crude form. The implication of their conception is that there are two worlds, the natural world, which is man's, and the supernatural, which is God's; the larger the field of man's knowledge, the smaller that of God's influence. In their conceit these new-fangled atheists seem to fancy that the kingdom of their knowledge is so large that the kingdom of God is getting very small.

Such an unscientific, as well as unchristian, conception it would be a waste of time to describe if it did not frequently appear in some form in the writings and talkings of the *new-wise* in the psychology of religion.

For myself, while recognizing that we never can go beyond the domain of law, and that nothing can be supernatural in the sense of being contrary to some uniform law of God's working, I feel that we need the word supernatural, not to act as a check to reverent study, but to describe that field of infinite mystery which the light of human reason can never wholly penetrate.

We have a somewhat formidable statistique of conversion. Elaborate charts have been constructed to determine the age of greatest probability of conversion. All the varied phenomena of conversion are being studied with most painstaking care. And this is well, even though it does no more than remind us that youth is the time of opportunity; but I submit to you who have seen a sinner "converted from the error of his ways," that there is still a mystery in conversion unpenetrated by the strongest searchlight of scientific investigation.

But I have not spoken of this mystery, not

unlike the mystery of the origin of life itself, to discourage thought or effort, but the growth of a conceit which both blinds and paralyzes. Here, as is so often the case, the facts stand out where all may see, though the explanation hides. We plant a seed in our garden, in soil carefully prepared; we water it and watch over it. The seed germinates, runs its roots into the soil, feeds on certain elements which we can chemically describe, reaches up into the sunlight, blossoms and bears fruit. We know many of the laws of plant growth, but we do not know the mystery at the heart of the seed, nor the magic of the sunlight. After we have done all that wisdom and experience can teach for the growing soul, we must wait for the Spirit of God—the sunlight of the spiritual world—to work its magic transformation. Without that, all our work is fruitless.

We have defined conversion as the conscious adjustment of the individual to the will of God, but we need to remind ourselves that the soul is made for God, as the plant for the sunlight. We often shrink from talking to the boy about religion or God, but the shrinking must be rooted in our own ignorance or unworthiness to speak of Him. Though he may not be conscious of it, the

normal boy hungers for God as he hungers for knowledge, love and comradeship.

THE SOCIAL ELEMENT IN CONVERSION

Conversion is manifestly a very complex process, to which many and varied forces contribute. It is an emotional, intellectual and spiritual experience. It is also in a very high degree *social*. Social influence is the strongest of all human agencies which make for conversion. Occasionally the soul passes from the self-centered to the God-centered life, apparently unmoved by the influence of parent, teacher or friend; but such cases are rare. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the spiritual appeal comes through the voice or example of one who has made, or is making, the great transition. This is peculiarly true during the adolescent period, when the social nature is most sensitive. At no other time is the influence of the comrade so strong. No one else can make so winning an appeal to the boy as another boy who belongs to his group, but has some element of leadership. The tendency "to follow a leader" is peculiarly strong during this "gang period." This explains the great success of boys' work for boys in the Young Men's Christian Association.

But it is not necessary to enlarge on the strength of the social appeal. That belongs to the a-b-c of evangelism. We should, however, remind ourselves of the fact that conversion is a social as well as a spiritual transition. It is more than passing from a self-centered to a God-centered life; it is a passing from a self-centered to an other-centered life—from egoism to altruism. Perhaps it would be better to say that no life can be truly God-centered without being other-centered, though a sad number of those accounted religious have failed to understand it.

We are only beginning to understand the importance of giving the young convert opportunity and encouragement to do for others. No cause for religious relapse is so common and potent as the lack of continuous service. The great weakness of some evangelistic movements has been that there have been offered no adequate channels for service into which the newly developed religious life could flow. And the responsibility of this must not be wholly placed on the evangelist. Many an ignorant and indolent church, to say nothing of Association, has acted as if, when the evangelist had "brought the lambs within the fold," nothing more remained to be done.

It is also important for us to remember that conversion is a continuous process. Conversion is the culmination of one stage of education, and the beginning of another. What we generally understand by conversion should be simply the first step in a lifelong journey.

There is a very real sense in which the Christian may be said to need converting every day and hour of his life. It is not enough that he has started in the right direction; he must keep on moving. In psychological language, he must progressively adjust himself to a higher and higher spiritual environment. Each day his obedience to the laws of the spiritual world must be more complete.

No more pernicious idea ever crept into the realm of religious thought than this: that conversion was like buying a ticket and boarding a train. Once on the train, nothing remained to do but get off at Heaven. It has been, and alas, still is, a most dangerous and damnable heresy which has its appeal to the slothful and ignorant, but should have none for the normal boy. Conflict and conquest should be the "breath of his nostrils." The sessile, flowery-bed-of-ease Christian life is not to his taste. He longs, if properly

guided, for a Christian life which is a victorious campaign, each day bringing some new world to conquer. To preach a soft and sedentary gospel to a boy is to make an inexcusable blunder and to ignore a fundamental principle of boy psychology.

We have been speaking of conversion as if it were wholly a growth or evolution. The old conception involved a "right about face," a turning of the back on the old life and the entering upon a new. It was assumed that the natural direction of life was wrong—that the natural man was at enmity against God. Some theologians went so far as to teach that children belonged to the devil until they were converted. In our reaction from this extreme we have gone to another, and have not made room in our theories for what may be described as moral gravitation, the downpull of animalism. A more careful study will show us that conversion is both an evolutionary and revolutionary process. We recoil from the old phrases "original sin" and "inherited guilt," but they were something more than words. They were an attempt to describe certain grim and inescapable facts of human experience in harmony with a special theory of the universe. We do the same

thing when we speak of "animal inheritance," "morbid heredity," "degradation," etc. Very likely a later and wiser generation will reject our phrases, as well as those of our fathers. But, theories and phrases aside, the facts are these. There is a tendency downward as well as upward. There is a law of moral inertia as well as of physical inertia. Character is an achievement as well as a growth. An uncultivated life deteriorates as well as an uncultivated plant. An unsteered ship reaches no harbor. There is even a very real sense in which the natural tendencies of life may be said to be downward. To go down hill is easier than to go up hill. All that is worth while in life seems to be at the top of the hill, and must be climbed for.

More than that, each human soul has a two-fold heredity—an heredity of good and an heredity of evil. Not merely do virtues, but vices, descend the stream of heredity. The sins of the fathers are visited upon the children, whether we like the phrase or not. The soul that drifts without a helmsman at the rudder is subject to the ill winds of evil heredity and environment and makes shipwreck. The soul that does not struggle upward, and is not emancipated by the Spirit of God

from his pack, like Christian in Pilgrim's Progress, does not reach the city of God.

Yes, conversion is growth, but it is also a revolt from the tyranny of the flesh and the devil; it is a change in the direction of life; it is shipping a new pilot and shaping a new course.

GOD'S PART IN CONVERSION

Twenty-five years ago it would have been entirely unnecessary to speak of God's part in conversion. It was assumed that conversion was entirely the work of God's Spirit. Our modern thought has made so much of the working of this Spirit through human agencies, and through the natural development of the soul, that it often seems to leave no room for the direct action of God. It is time to emphasize the fact that God is not limited to indirect agencies—that He manifests Himself not merely in the growth of the soul from within, but in the bringing in of a new life principle from without, which makes a transformation, fittingly described as "new birth."

This will be challenged by those who believe that conversion involves nothing more than the development of that which is already within the soul; but I submit that the teaching of the New

Testament and the phenomena of conversion go to show that conversion involves the coming in of a new life principle. On the merely physical plane birth involves the accession of new life. The child does not simply spin out longer the old thread of life. It is something more than multiplication by fission. A new spark of the divine fire seems to be added to each new life. On the spiritual plane, then, new birth should mean a new influx of life. The command of Jesus, "Ye must be born again," means more than "Ye must reform." It means that we must open the doors of our souls to the Spirit of God which waits for entrance. I yield to no one in my belief in the infinite possibility of growth in the human soul, but I am persuaded that its crowning capacity is its capacity for God. Without Him the most carefully up-builted life is like the arch without the keystone. If our consciousness is to be trusted, we need more than reformation; we need more than development; we need the coming in of a new life principle from above. Without this the struggle for holiness and immortality would be hopeless. The old gospel of regeneration must be preached side by side with the new gospel of education. To the charge of mysticism we may submit undis-

turbed. So long as we deal with life, we cannot escape mystery, and the higher the life, the greater the mystery.

Still if such a conception were not supported by the facts of human experience, we should be compelled to surrender it. But what are the facts? I think of Jerry McAuley, once thief, drunkard, libertine, brute. I remember his face as I last saw it, aflame with every high and holy passion. "Reformed," says some one. "Reborn," said McAuley. "Jesus took away the old heart and gave me a new one." When I think of the scores of men in whom I have seen the same miracle of transformation, I am persuaded that the facts bear him out.

The most suggestive analogy to my mind is furnished by the process of grafting, though we must remember the limitations of all purely physical analogies. You have a choke pear tree in your garden. It is strong and vigorous, but the fruit is bitter and acrid. You want better pears. A bookwise friend tells you to dig about it and prune it and aid in its natural development. How long would it take to develop a Bartlett pear out of the choke pear? Certainly too long to be of practical use to you. But the nurseryman grafts

on the choke pear stock some Bartlett slips, and in a few years you can taste the miracle of the regenerated pear. Is it not in some such way as this that "the engrafted Word" enables the human soul to bear new fruit?

It was Henry Drummond, that prophet of the spiritual significance of natural law, who suggested that all the most wonderful transformations in life are the result of the coming in of a new life from above. The plant reaches down into the soil and takes up into itself the mineral and chemical material, weaving it into new tissue of life. The animal feeds upon the vegetable and it becomes a part of a wonderful motor mechanism. Man takes the products of the vegetable and the animal world and they are translated into thought, love, achievement, character. The noblest and most wonderful transformation of them all is when God takes up the human into the divine plane of living, till "in him we live and move and have our being." This atonement with God which it was Christ's supreme mission to preach is our hope of immortality. "This is life eternal, to know God, and him whom he hath sent, even Jesus."

We are now prepared to add to the statement that conversion should be the goal of education,

the complementary statement that God's part in conversion is the giving of his own transforming life to the soul. Neglecting no part of physical, intellectual and social education, we shall remember that the greatest thing in the world is to bring the soul to God. "Unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it" applies pre-eminently to the building of character. God is as necessary to the flowering and fruition of the soul as sunlight to that of the plant.

The increasing perfection of the mechanism of our work for boys makes it necessary for us to remind ourselves that we are not mechanics—that conversion is not a mill product. To use a vital and so more appropriate figure, we are only gardeners in the Lord's vineyard. Faithfully doing our work of planting and cultivating, we may reverently expect the miracle of the sunlight.

It may seem to those of you who have been accustomed to look at education from the purely educational point of view, that this conception makes an almost deistic gap between the human and the divine side of the process, at variance with the law of continuity everywhere discoverable in vital phenomena. I think, however, that second thought will make it clear that with fundamental

continuity of life, there are certain extraordinary changes which are due to sudden changes of environment and subjection to new forces. Birth is one of these changes; adolescence is another; conversion another. In zoölogy the change from the larval to the butterfly stage would afford another illustration.

And to anticipate another objection or query: In speaking of the human and the divine elements in conversion, I do not mean to intimate that the two are not in essence *one*. From one point of view they are simply two manifestations of the same divine energy. A simple illustration will make my meaning clear. In the development of the plant two forces cooperate. The germinating life energy pushes upward, the sunlight reaches downward, and growth is the result of the interaction of these two forces. And yet, as the botanist tells us, the germ itself is but the child of the sunlight, and the sunlight incarnate in the seed reaches out to meet the sunlight in the air in a wonderful cycle of life.

In the same way, God in the human soul goes out to meet the God of the spiritual world, and conversion is the result of the meeting of these two divine energies.

SUMMARY

1. Conversion is the normal culmination of education.
2. While the phenomena of conversion differ, the essence of the process is a change of center. The soul becomes God-centered and other-centered instead of self-centered.
3. This change may be slow or it may be rapid, may be conscious or unconscious, but it is so great and wonderful that it may best be described as a new birth.
4. A sense of sin and a challenging of religious formulæ and ideas are often symptoms of a dawning consciousness of the beauty of holiness and the authority of truth.
5. The best preparation for conversion is training in the habit of obedience to the laws of nature, the laws of mind, and the laws of society.
6. Conversion is both a natural and a supernatural process, involving the cooperation of both human and divine agencies. Neither is complete without the other.
7. Conversion is not merely to be worked for, but to be expected. The soul waits for God.
8. Conversion is a social as well as a spiritual

transformation. It involves service as well as worship.

9. Conversion is a continuous process, involving new struggle and new victory each day. It is progressive change "from the heterogeneous to the homogeneous" in the spiritual life. The orders of the Christian life are ever marching orders, and appeal to the martial spirit in the boy.

CHAPTER VII

THE CRIMINAL SIDE OF ADOLESCENT BOYHOOD

In this chapter we must turn to a less pleasant, though important, part of our subject. Adolescence is the germinating time, not merely of the best elements, but of the worst. "It is preeminently the criminal age, when most first commitments occur and most vicious careers are begun." "It is also true," unfortunately, "that the proportion of juvenile delinquents seems to be everywhere increasing, and crime more and more precocious" (Hall). The following facts, taken from German statistics, will show what is true in most of the other countries. Of 30,902 thieves, forty-five per cent were under twenty-one years of age. The same fact is emphasized in a report on crime and pauperism in the census of 1890, paragraph 2, pages 506-569. "Fourteen is the maximal age for incorrigibility and malicious mischief and trespass; fifteen for petty larceny, vagrancy, disorderly conduct and assaults; sixteen for larceny and pub-

lic intoxication; and seventeen for fornication. From fifteen to twenty, crimes against property are more frequent; while crimes against persons, except rape, attain their maximal from twenty-one to twenty-five."

These, and a large number of similar statistics, show that adolescence is not merely the time of maximal criminality, but that this is due to imperfect socialization and lack of adjustment to social laws. As Dr. Hall suggests, while vice and crime are not synonymous, crime is the most accurate index of vice. Adolescence is the time, thus, when vicious and anti-social impulses are strongest and least under social control.

NATURE AND CAUSES OF ADOLESCENT CRIME

1. *Physical abnormality and excess of animalism.*

We owe largely to Lombroso the discovery that criminality is usually, if not always, associated with physical abnormality. "Criminals have larger jaws but smaller brains than the normal man; are subject to a large number of physical flaws or defects, particularly of the nervous system. Criminal children are strikingly neurotic and lacking in vigor." Lombroso declares, however,

that "criminals as a class are more deficient in the sentiments than in intelligence or physique."

The fact that physical defects become accentuated during the rapid growth of adolescence may partially explain the rapid increase in crime during this period; but the fundamental cause seems to lie deeper, and is this: the passions develop more rapidly than the power of self-control.

As to the secondary causes of crime, Dr. Wines says: "With regard to the kind of temptation which exerts the greatest influence on the child's mind, I am of the opinion that the criminal habit commences in most young persons either with illicit sexual indulgence or with extravagance and the contracting of debts." To phrase it a little differently, the young criminal usually suffers from an excess of animalism and lack of the power of self-control. It is to be remembered that adolescence is the time when family control diminishes and state control is imperfect, and there is, therefore, great danger of lack of *any* adequate control.

2. Criminal Inheritance.

Next to excess of animalism as a cause of crime must be placed "degenerate evolution" or devolution—progress backward. Certain families, like

the famous, or rather infamous, Jukes, are the most notorious examples, but we are familiar with numerous families who are on the down grade physically, mentally and morally, and have acquired a kind of momentum in degeneration. The causes of this degeneracy are very complex: vice, the stress of city life, poverty, overwork and similar forces are usually in evidence. In many cases a family seems to be overwhelmed simply by the weight and complexity of modern civilization. By the phrases degeneration and devolution, we are simply describing the slow process of the elimination of the unfit. A very considerable proportion of our criminal population represents the by-products of the manufacture of what we call civilization. Some of it seems unavoidable, but the amount is so great that we are forced to the conclusion that there is enormous and needless waste.

3. Arrested Development.

For some time physiologists have made it clear that arrested development is a most fruitful cause of the physiological peculiarities which are favorable to crime. If one part of the body, say a certain part of the brain, does not develop nor-

mally some other part grows abnormally at its expense. This produces a lack of physical balance and correlation. Many noted alienists insist that every criminal is, to some extent, physically defective and abnormal. It is certainly true that the conditions of life in our great cities and manufacturing centers arrest the physical development of the young, and so manufacture criminals as steadily as they do "goods," till we wonder if "goods" may not be "bads" when bought at such a price. Many of our great industries devour men as greedily as the great furnaces which furnish their power devour coal. If they killed men at once, it would not be so serious, sad as it would be; but the killing process is now dragged on through several generations.

Our fathers thought criminals were the product of satanic influence and "natural cussedness"; now we talk of environment and heredity; but some day, if not now, we shall see that there is still a *devil*, and that devil the greed of gold, and that "natural cussedness" is the cussedness of those who believe that property is more sacred than person, and lucre than life.

But arrested development, as a cause of crime, is a psychological fact, as well as a physiological.

As Dr. Dawson has admirably shown, many crimes are simply natural instincts which have developed unnaturally because they have not been checked by other instincts which have been, for some reason or other, arrested. The thief is the man in whom the natural appropriative instinct, unchecked by any sense of social responsibility or moral obligation, has grown to abnormal proportions. The murderer is the man in whom the instinct of self-assertion and self-defense, or jealousy, has not been restrained by a development of sympathy and kindness of spirit.

If this be true, one-sidedness, in either physical, intellectual or moral growth, is a thing to be avoided—literally like the devil—a consideration which we are in danger of forgetting in this age of specialization.

4. The Constraints of Convention and Social Usage.

It must be borne in mind, in considering the causes of crime, and especially juvenile crime, that many crimes are purely conventional, and are the products of peculiar social conditions. As Dr. Hall reminds us, there is “a certain relativity in crime; Socrates and Jesus were criminals accord-

ing to the legal standards of their day." When boys are not allowed proper playgrounds, their animal spirits find outlet in our streets in ways which make them breakers of the law. Dr. Hall says in this connection: "Vice and crime are so manifold and diversified, so highly colored with genuine human interests, and open such wide fields of originality and differentiation of human activities, that it is no wonder that the feral traits of primal man seem so attractive to children, and even to women, compared to the more monotonous, tamed and toned-down humdrum life of good citizenship. * * * * One thing is certain, the great body of crime is not to be essentially reduced by criminal codes, however skillfully drawn, but only by bettering the individual and social conditions of the community at large." ("Adolescence," Vol. I., pp. 341-342.)

Attention has been called to the fact that criminality in the boy is usually associated with some physical abnormality; but it must be borne in mind that this is not inconsistent with a high degree of vitality, and with a kind of energy which, under more favorable conditions, makes for success. "Crime and honesty run in the line of greatest vitality, and the qualities that make con-

trivers of crime are substantially the same that will make successful men in honest pursuits." ("The Jukes," p. 47.)

During adolescence it takes but little to divert the currents of life towards either social or anti-social ends. Many a criminal is only a captain of industry and hero of achievement spoiled in the making. Every candid student of crime is sooner or later forced to the conviction that we need more preventive rather than more punitive agencies. The economy of prevention cannot, from the nature of the case, be so easily demonstrated from statistics; but the immense cost of our punitive agencies is such as to make even a possible economy worth striving for.

The most obvious place to apply preventive measures, when that cannot be done in the home, is in the school. We are only gradually coming to the knowledge of the fact that it is not the only, or even the main, function of the school to train clerks and professional men. The real object of public education should be to *socialize*, as well as intellectualize. A good teacher is one who can help in the making of good citizens, who can help the boys and girls to habits of social accommodation, to affection for social ideals, and respect for

social laws. We have laid too much emphasis on the work of the drillmaster and too little on that of the man-maker.

Abnormal feminization of the teaching force in our high schools is unquestionably responsible for a degree of criminality. Particularly adolescent boys need to feel the control of a masculine personality. It represents more clearly and incisively the social and legal forces which he will come in contact with later.

It has been noted by many writers that the faults of childhood are the germs of the crimes of adolescence and maturity. The relation between truancy and vagrancy is a good illustration of this. It should be noted, however, that truancy does not always show a predisposition to vagrancy, but to outdoor life and occupation and a recoil from the restraints of sedentary school life. It is clear that many a boy is made a criminal because the ordinary school does not furnish enough opportunity for the exercise of his peculiar tastes and faculties. Technical schools are sure to have a marked influence on this type of boy, though the movement is too recent to furnish statistics. We may look forward confidently to the time when this type of education will be greatly extended,

and we shall have our technical grammar schools as well as high schools, so that it will be possible for a boy to be educated from earliest years in a way that will give free play to his natural tastes and capacities. There is every reason, also, why technical training should include the activities of the fields and woods as well as of the mill and shop, and should have outdoor departments, dealing with agriculture, forestry, road-making, masonry, carpentry, and the like. Work done by some country schools in practical gardening and farming is an illustration of the possibilities. But many city boys need such training far more than the country boy. We have not yet made room enough in our systems of education for the motor activities of youth. We have been too largely dominated by the clerical and professional conception of education; there has been too much monotony and too little motion in our school curricula.

Yes, sessile education is cheaper, counting first cost, as our city fathers do; but it is not adapted for all—perhaps not even for a majority of boys. It is surely better to pay school bills than prison bills. It is strange how much more ready we are with our pounds of cure than with our ounces of prevention. The increasing multiplicity and com-

plexity of the machinery for restraining and reforming delinquent youth is encouraging. We need more rather than less. But if our educational system was more adapted and diversified, the need of these moral and social repair shops would be greatly diminished.

SOME DISTINCTIVE CRIMES OF ADOLESCENCE

The crimes of adolescence, as we have seen, are the outgrowth of passions and powers which are felt in their full intensity at that period. Many of them are directly traceable to animal and savage passions which have not been fully socialized.

This is peculiarly true of crimes of violence, that is, offenses against persons, which are very common among adolescent criminals. The genetic reasons for this are obvious; savage man lived and moved in an atmosphere of ceaseless conflict. His survival, the securing of food, shelter and mate, depended upon his fighting capacity. Even now, notwithstanding the amenities of civilization, man is still a fighting animal, who has now learned to fight with more subtle and refined weapons. It is well for us to remember that the impulse which leads a man to ruthlessly crush a

business or professional rival is in essence one with that which led the savage to fight to the death any possible rival with such weapons as he knew how to use. The moral quality of the impulses is identical, though the law distinguishes between them, and allows a palace for the one, and assigns the other to a prison.

It is natural that during adolescence the fighting instinct should express itself in physical aggression rather than in economic and commercial, using fist and club rather than mortgages, corners and combines.

In the animal kingdom the young males are possessed by the fighting mania, especially during the rutting period. It is clear that many cases of adolescent violence are due to the cropping out of this primitive instinct. The statistics of crimes of violence show that crimes of combativeness and sexuality correspond very closely. Our police and jails do little to check this; our schools do much, but might do more. The fighting instinct cannot be eliminated, but can be transformed from an anti-social to a social force by furnishing generous opportunity for the expenditure of surplus energy, and by directing the fighting instinct against obstacles rather than personal enemies.

As Dr. Hall suggests, "Adolescence is the best key to the nature of crime." It is the time for that peculiar self-assertiveness which is the source of the strongest and best as well as of the weakest and worst elements in human nature. Crime is essentially egoistic. It is the outgrowth of unregulated individualism. Fortunately in normal individuals the egoism natural to the period is balanced by new sensitiveness to the social influence. If we take nature's method, then, we will attempt to moralize by socializing; that is, making the individual more responsive to social atmosphere and more obedient to social regulations. Speaking broadly, criminals are the products of abnormal constitution or inheritance, and of abnormal conditions or environment. The experience of the Children's Aid, and other similar societies, goes to show that environment is more important than inheritance, and that is most fortunate. Society can, if it will, largely change environment, and thus secure to the third generation both good inheritance and good surroundings.

Obvious as all this is to one who reflects, it is equally obvious that we act up to this knowledge most imperfectly. We must learn to recognize, as Germany is beginning to do, that the state has

a direct responsibility for every child whose home is clearly a school for criminals.

Valuable as cultural and technical education are for the prevention of crime and the developing of industrial and economic efficiency, they are not enough. From the standpoint of good citizenship, social education is essential. *Usually* the young criminal is deficient in intelligence and general information and without adequate training for a trade or profession, but he is *always* deficient in *social adaptability*. The greatest lack has been in his social development. He has not been socially educated.

While we are beginning to recognize the importance of social education, it must be confessed that we know less about it than about any other department of education. This may be due to the fact that we have assumed that this training should be given by the home and the church, and the undirected influence of social environment. Even a superficial study of the statistics of crime will show that these agencies are not furnishing all the social education that is needed. Without criticising the methods of social education in the home and the church, it is obvious that the large proportion of adolescent boys are not influenced

strongly by either, and social education is left to the school and the street.

No one feels this more keenly than the teacher, and the rapid development of the social elements in education is characteristic of the "new pedagogy." In our best schools we have courses in civics. Some are organized as "school cities," and every pupil has some part in the organization of the city in miniature. More than this, all the studies and activities of school life are increasingly pervaded by the social spirit.

But there is one agency for social education whose possibilities we have not as yet measured, and that is the *wisely directed social game*. In the games of childhood and adolescence, the drama of life is rehearsed. During adolescence these play activities are predominantly social. The more favored boys get a large part of their social training on the playground and athletic field. The less favored boys are forced to pick up what they can get on the streets and alleys with an occasional open lot.

Fortunately for the race the play instinct has been so strong that neither the opposition of short-sighted parents and teachers, nor the limitations of city life, have been able to crush it. It will

mean a new era in education when we have learned to work *with* this great current of natural impulse and not *against* it. That it is coming, the playground movement, the extension of park systems, the development of departments of physical training in college and school, the increasing number of professional directors of sports, bear witness. The general public think of the expenditure for these as justified by their influence on public health, but the student of education knows that it is also justified by their influence on personal and social morals. It is not a disparagement to church and Sunday school to say that a boy will sometimes find the baseball and football field a better school of morals. There, under wise direction, he will learn both to command and to obey; to sacrifice himself to the good of the team; to play his part with reference to the play of the whole; and to play in accord with the rules of the game. This has been demonstrated on hundreds of athletic fields and playgrounds.

That the organization of sports may be used as an agency for the cure of the criminal habits of adolescence, has been demonstrated by Mr. Clark Hetherington, by his experiences during the time that he was anthropologist and director of physical

training in the State Reformatory at Los Angeles, California.¹

When Mr. Hetherington went to the State Reformatory, both the morals and the health of the inmates were at a very low ebb. Considerable effort was made to reach the men on the religious side, meetings were frequent, and the pious chaplain made frequent appeals to the men to lead better lives, telling them that first of all they must have a new heart. The men listened to these appeals because they had to, but with very poor grace, muttering between their teeth constantly as the preacher was speaking, "You go to hell," "You are a damn fool," and other remarks of a like nature. When Mr. Hetherington went there, he felt that there must be some better way to reach the moral side of the men's nature, and made the experiment of trying to give social and moral education through athletic sports and games. Under his supervision, athletic fields were prepared on the grounds of the Reformatory, where such games as football, baseball, basketball, tennis, and the like, could be played among the men.

¹ NOTE.—This was written after a conversation with Mr. Hetherington, and may be inaccurate in minor details, but may be taken for "substance of doctrine."

The most interesting experiment was made with football. He found that he had a considerable number of men who, in weight and apparent strength, would make good football material; but they had been so weakened by dissipation, and were so inferior in intellect, that it seemed hardly possible to teach them to play even an ordinary game of football. Eleven were finally chosen, but they formed a curious aggregation. One man was a half-breed Spaniard, another a Mexican, another a Pueblo Indian, two Irishmen, a negro, and a white man of undetermined race. Two of the men were suffering from tobacco heart, and, though large in size, almost incapacitated. A number of men were so deficient in intelligence that, though they had been to grammar school, they could neither read nor write. It was soon found that the average intelligence of the team was so low that it was impossible for them to understand ordinary football signals, and they had to be taught the game in a purely mechanical fashion. One man, for example, not only could not understand a signal, but could not understand a spoken command. He was taught, however, that two pinches meant plunge into the right, and one pinch to the left. During the coaching season Mr.

Hetherington lectured to the men on football every evening, illustrating the various plays and positions on the board, trying to make the game mechanically clear to the men, though that was never entirely possible. After they had become a little familiar with the general rules of the game, he tried to impress them more and more with the idea that a man could not play football alone. If a man was to get the ball through the line, it was necessary that he be supported by other men; and he made more and more of this element of cooperation as the team developed in capacity.

The attitude of the men was very interesting. For the first time in their lives they seemed to get some conception of the meaning of cooperation. While at the beginning of the football season there were almost constant fights and quarrels among the men of the team, they gradually learned to work together in comparative harmony, and with ever-increasing effectiveness. At the end of the season, this mongrel team of criminals had improved so much in physical condition, and had learned so thoroughly some of the fundamental principles of the game, that they were enabled to defeat the varsity eleven of the University of

California, and many of the best elevens on the Pacific coast. The moral improvement of the men was even more striking than their physical improvement, and their increased capacity for playing the game hard. Mr. Hetherington made it a rule never to speak above an ordinary conversational tone, even in his coaching of the team, and to be unfailingly courteous in his treatment of the men themselves. As a result, the men unconsciously imitated him and were conspicuous, at least in their relations with him, for their deferential bearing. In some serious riots that occurred in the Reformatory not long after that, not a man in the institution failed to touch his cap to Mr. Hetherington, even though he was suspected of being the arch conspirator in the breaking up of the riots. Since that time, Mr. Hetherington has kept a record of the men who worked on his football eleven, and a very encouraging proportion of them have become self-supporting and respectable citizens.

These men seemed to have been criminals because they had lacked any social education. They had not learned how to live with their fellows, and they were enabled to secure this socializing and moralizing education through the game of foot-

ball, as they had not been able to do in any other way.

A single incident will illustrate the influence that the honor system which Mr. Hetherington put them under had upon some of them. It was Mr. Hetherington's custom to take long drives through wild sections of the country, attended by several prisoners, without arms or attendants, even returning late at night. During his entire stay at the Reformatory, his confidence was never misplaced. Once he had occasion to carry a young fellow to the hospital at Los Angeles, and took with him two men who subsequently escaped from the Reformatory at the risk of their lives. When he arrived in Los Angeles, he left the two prisoners in charge of the carriage, gave them ten cents apiece to get an ice cream soda, and went about his private business for an hour and a half. When he came back, he found the two men quietly waiting for him. The very next day one of these men escaped from the Reformatory by jumping into an open sewer or flume which ran through the grounds, and going for three miles down it until he came to the river—an extremely hazardous undertaking. When he was afterwards asked why he took all that trouble when he might have gotten

away from Hetherington at Los Angeles, he remarked, "Oh, I couldn't go back on Hetherington."

This experience of Mr. Hetherington's, with many others which might be related, seems to show that one of the very best means of training in social virtues is the playing of social games under proper supervision. There are many city fathers who are quite willing to pay the bills of ordinary education, who discourage the expenditure of any money upon public playgrounds. They fail to see that the real justification of the support of education by the state lies in the fact that education makes a better citizen; and certainly such experiences as those related show that athletics may be made a means of social education where other means have failed.

SUMMARY

1. Adolescence is the germinating time for the bad impulses as well as the good.
2. Physical abnormality and excess of animalism explain much crime.
3. Criminal inheritance is deadly, but may be counteracted to a large extent by right environment.

4. Arrested development leads to moral as well as physical monstrosities.
5. Much "juvenile crime," so called, is simply the product of peculiar social conditions; it is one of the by-products of artificial civilization.
6. Adapted and directed athletic games are among the best antidotes to crime. They give social education, in which the criminal is always lacking.